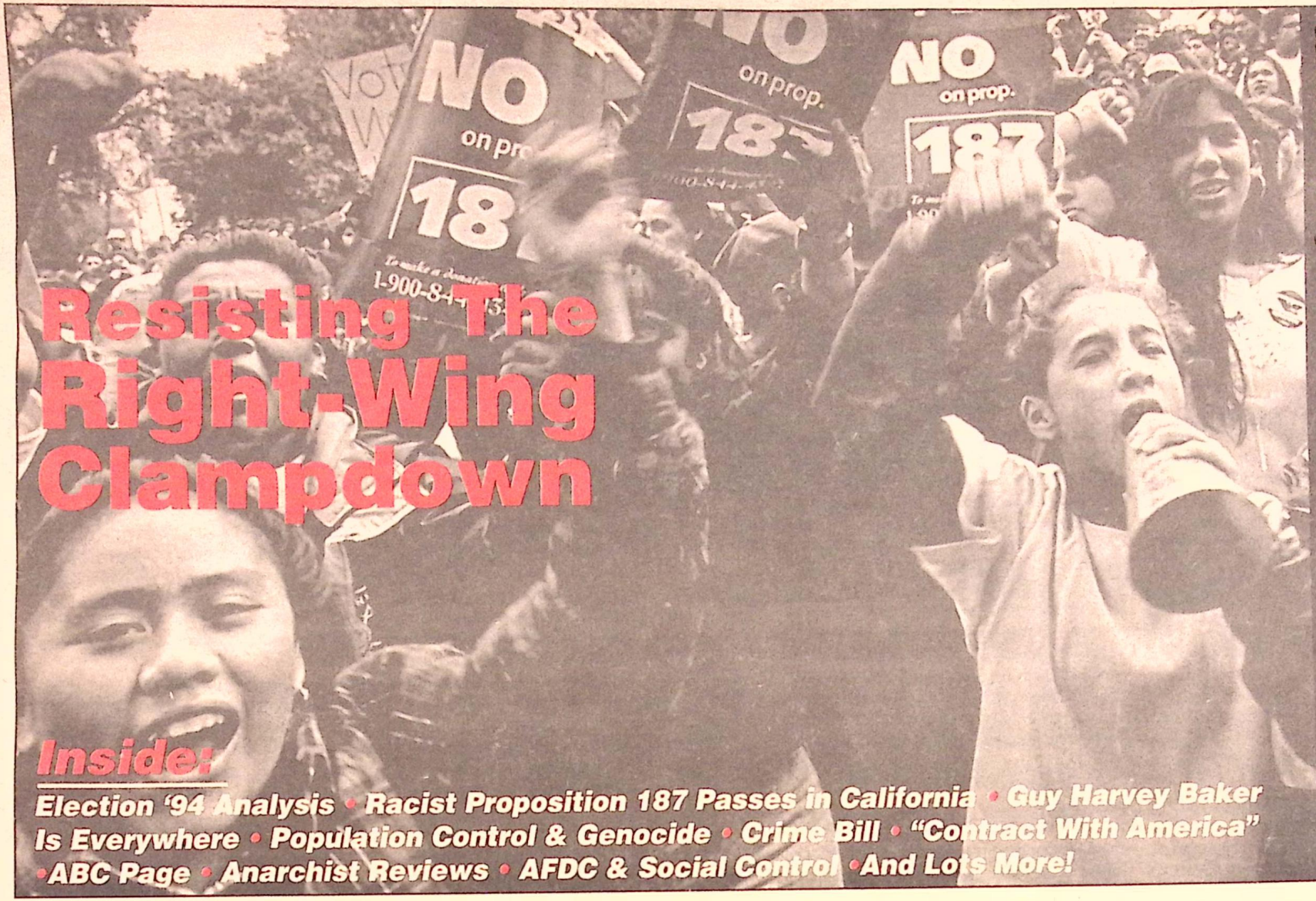
The Blast!

December/January 1995•Number 4•Free In MN-$1 Everywhere Else



Resisting The Right-Wing Clampdown

Inside:

Election '94 Analysis • Racist Proposition 187 Passes in California • Guy Harvey Baker Is Everywhere • Population Control & Genocide • Crime Bill • "Contract With America" •ABC Page • Anarchist Reviews • AFDC & Social Control •And Lots More!

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Photo: Impact Visuals

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THE BLAST

LYDIA GIBSON

WHY THE BLAST?

The Blast! is dedicated to revealing, celebrating and encouraging resistance to the forces of oppression that choke this world in a vice-grip. We take aim at those who would deny us a life of freedom, equality, mutual aid, and dignity.

The Blast! is put out by the Agitator Index collective in Minneapolis. We are five people who believe that the only way to stop the injustice in this society is by turning resistance into revolution.

There are three key things we believe. First, there is nothing "natural" about the way the world is today. Capitalism doesn't rule the world because it is "human nature" to be selfish and greedy. Race and racism do not exist because certain people are different "by nature." Men and women are not distinct and unequal because of "biology." Race, sexuality, and oppression are human relationships that are created by social and historical conditions, not some unchangeable "human nature" or biology.

Second, the world we live in is oppressive and unjust. We see four fundamental oppressions that have shaped this world: capitalism and imperialism, white supremacy, patriarchy (male domination and homophobia), and the state. All of these things work to grind the majority of people in the world into obedient servants, or if that doesn't work, into dust. While all four of these oppressions are interconnected and work together to oppress people (for example, the way white supremacy has been combined with capitalism to oppress African Americans in the U.S.), each oppression is also relatively independent from the others. Therefore, any revolutionary struggle has to fight all of these oppressions, not just one.

Third, because the world is unjust, and because injustice is not natural, the world should and can be changed. This requires revolutionary change. That's why we support the creation of a mass, bottom-up, democratic, participatory revolutionary movement that can overthrow the powers that be and build a free society. We need to start building this anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement now.

We want *The Blast!* to be relevant to all kinds of people who are in some way fed up with this filthy world. We want to be a resource for revolutionaries around the world to use and contribute to. We promise to interview revolutionary persons and groups, report on resistance activities around the globe, and provide an anti-authoritarian analysis to events happening internationally and locally. We are committed to agitating locally in the Twin Cities especially.

We have a political statement that we published in our first issue that expresses our politics in much greater detail. If you would like a copy, please send us $2.

For freedom, for revolution, for justice: *The Blast!* KABOOM!

Agitator Index is a member group of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation.

WELCOME...

If you read this page in our last issue, you know that the Agitator Index collective (the group that publishes *The Blast!*) lost two of its members recently. Tricia Meleiko moved to México City and Tod moved to Milwaukee. In the months since they have left, the collective has felt their absence greatly.

However, we are happy to announce that a new person has joined the collective and the editing/publishing duties of *The Blast!*, Katrina. Katrina is a senior at a south Minneapolis high school and has done plenty of activism locally and collectively. The rest of us are really excited that Katrina has joined the collective and with her help we fully expect Minneapolis to be a capitalist scumbag-free zone in no time. Welcome Katrina!

A NOTE ON OUR PUBLISHING SCHEDULE

A police officer is killed every 57 hours in the U.S., according to the National Association of Chiefs of Police. *The Blast!* is bimonthly, which means our paper comes out every two months, or every 26 cops killed.

If an issue is published late (like this one!), that must mean only 24 or 25 cops have been killed to date. So don't blame us for any delays; get busy!

HAVE A BLAST!

The Blast! has always been free to prisoners. Starting with this issue, the paper is also free to moms on AFDC, GIs, and people with AIDS. If you fit into one of these categories and would like a free sub, just write and ask. We will send you a sample copy. If you want to continue receiving it, write us back and let us know and we'll put you down for a free subscription. For those of you who don't fit into any of these categories, please consider sending an extra $2 or so with your $9 sub to help cover the costs of mailing a sub to those who can't afford it themselves.

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Prisoners, moms on AFDC, PWAs, GIs — free

(When you request a free sub to the *Blast!*, we will send you one issue. If you want to continue receiving it, write us back and tell us you want to be put on the subscription list. Free subs need to be renewed yearly.) Please add $2 to each subscription to help cover a prisoner's subscription

AGITATORS: Nikolas Kautz, Justine Abinni, joel, Katrina, Erin Immaculate

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COVER: Over 1000 students from Porterville High School in Central California, in an election day student walkout against Proposition 187. Photo: Thor Swift/Impact Visuals.
Cover Design: Jean-Marc / agit! grafix

Special thanks to Lisa S., David R., Karen G., Paul T. and the Emma Center for their generous financial help and mutual aid.

ADVERTISE!

Printing and distribution of THE BLAST! is solely funded by advertising and contributions. In order to keep coming out consistently we need your ads. A discount schedule is available for those who wish to place more than one ad.

DEADLINE FOR #5 IS
February 5, 1995
Issue #4 on the street February 15

Any Questions call Justine at (612)-825-9953

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THE BLAST! is a new radical bimonthly newspaper from the Twin Cities. Our circulation is 7,000 copies, and a minimum of 5,000 copies are distributed free in the Twin Cities.

The Blast! is produced by the **Agitator Index** collective. It is exclusively a non-profit newspaper, and all revenues from ads go towards putting the next issue out.

Make Minnesota Mean

by Nikolas Kautz

Demonstrators drop by Oak Park Heights for a chat

Anarchist organizers from New York, California, Ontario, Mexico City, and other places got a surprising taste of "Minnesota Nice" on the closing day of their group's annual conference. About thirty Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation members joined members of the Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota Eight on October 10 for a successful, but very weird, action at a state prison.

Love and Rage, a federation of collectives and individual organizers in more than a dozen continental cities, publishes an English newspaper from New York and a Spanish-language one from Mexico City. The Equal Justice Committee formed late in 1992 to fight the railroad of eight African-American men following the killing of a white police officer.

To the astonishment of non-Minnesotans present, a lone, police guard in front of Oak Park Heights prison allowed marchers to talk their way into the prison's lobby by agreeing not to chant inside. Crossing their fingers behind their backs, the demonstrators took their signs and banners up to the control booth and *demanded a meeting with the new warden*, Erik Skon.

"If this was California, we wouldn't have gotten past the front gate. They'd have been all over us with fuckin' riot cops," marveled Jean, an activist from Oakland. Chicagoans and New Yorkers echoed the thought.

The demo, in support of three Minnesota Eight prisoners held there, came three days before the Minnesota Supreme Court heard the appeal of Shannon *Bowles*. Bowles, was convicted in 1993 of killing a policeman, despite neither physical evidence nor eyewitnesses to place him at the scene. Five other Black men were convicted or pled guilty in that shooting and the allegedly-related murder of a reputed Vice Lord and police informer. One man was acquitted and one floats in endless legal limbo in Illinois.

The state tried each case before an anonymous jury, previously unheard of here, and Bowles, Pepi MacKenzie, and A.C. Ford (the first 3 to come up for appeal) raised this issue before the Minnesota Supreme Court.

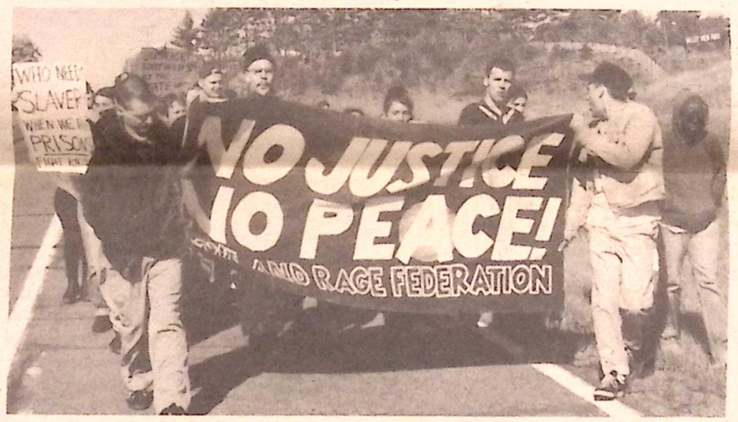
Jailhouse Journalist Punished

Bowles and Ford have spent almost a year in the control unit at Oak Park Heights. Their first trip to the hole was punishment for refusing to take their recreation outdoors in sub-zero weather. Termed a "riot," this preference to stand inside where it was warm earned Ford a bruising and landed a total of thirteen prisoners in the hole for more than four months.

When that time was up, guards put Bowles and a white prisoner with a swastika tattoo together, let the prison erupt, and locked the whole place down. Bowles went back to the hole, where he expects to stay.

Finally, Bowles wrote an article on the beating of another prisoner that he witnessed, which appeared in a African-American weekly newspaper in Minneapolis, and in several national leftist papers. The previous warden, Holbeck, verbally attacked Bowles's relatives and supporters for this.

The small contingent of about thirty Love and Ragers and four Minnesota 8 Committee members wanted to raise all these matters with Warden Skon, but not with the hope that prison abuse could be lobbied out of existence. The supporters of the prisoners wanted to put the Oak Park bosses on notice that Bowles, Ford, and Minnesota 8 brother Larry Flournoy are not at their tender mercies. The three men have allies. They are part of a community that is watchful and capable of raising hell.



"Repressive Tolerance"

This community is precisely what many white Minnesotans fear. Whites who would never admit to prejudice are leaving Minneapolis and St. Paul in numbers that have alarmed editorial writers. Most Minneapolis police officers live in almost all white suburbs. Even in the city itself, many middle and working-class whites treat a trip to Chicago-Lake Liquor Store, in the heart of a mixed, largely Black and Native, community, as a dangerous mission. But everyone studiously avoids the language of race, preferring instead to talk about "crime," or "quality of life."

As the demonstrators marched back to their cars and returned to the city, non-Minnesotans bubbled with talk of "repressive tolerance." The state doesn't always come right out and smash you. It watches you kick up your little ruckus, and waits you out. "Would you like fries with that?" demonstrators half-expected the polite prison guard to ask as they were leaving.

Repressive tolerance is useful in a quiet place that prides itself on its "progressive tradition," a place where the state and the corporate economy can count on a high degree of loyalty from the citizens.

A few highlights of "Minnesota Nice:"

- The state Supreme Court's racial-bias task force found that Minnesota's ratio of Black incarceration to white was the highest in the U.S.
- The FBI office here is dedicated to the two agents killed in June, 1975, during the government war against the Lakota Sioux at Pine Ridge, South Dakota. Leonard Peltier still sits in prison, framed for that shooting.
- In a state full of avid outdoors-people, few seem to care that the local electric utility is storing nuclear waste on Native land on an island in the Mississippi River.

Making the Revolution "Progressive"

The Minnesota political tradition that now gets called merely "progressive" is in fact a tradition of fighting the system tooth and nail. How progress within the law triumphed over tearing the system down is a lesson in co-optation and whiteness.

A century and a half ago, race traitors defied whiteness and made Minnesota a stop on the underground railroad. Later, the early 1900s saw a smoldering class war in the northern Iron Range as miners battled murderous working conditions and the guns of company thugs. Many were recent Finnish immigrants who closely watched the unfolding Russian Revolution. Like dirt-poor Europeans elsewhere in America, they brought their working-class politics with them. As elsewhere, they were crushed first. Limited victories and repressive tolerance came later.

The Iron Range also has another history from that period: The lynching in Duluth of several African-American men. They are the original Minnesota Eight.

This summer, Democratic politicians and labor leaders indulged in a pale celebration of a 50th anniversary: The 1934 Teamsters strike that shut down the city and put the fear of godlessness into every capitalist in the country. The workers won.

Because those mostly white workers conveniently forgot to include Black workers in their demands, or even to *see* Natives, except in movies (Minneapolis is home to the second-largest urban population of Indigenous people in North America; first is Mexico City), they earned the right to be tolerated. The state that repressed them also smiled nicely.

With all the white people being nice to each other, any ugliness could be safely denied. By 1946, left-leaning journalist Carey McWilliams could call Minneapolis "the capital of anti-Semitism in America." The good people pretended to be shocked at the news.

After World War II, an anti-communist liberal politician, Hubert Humphrey, largely put together the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party, Minnesota's DFL, as a coalition that could steal the thunder of the heavily-Communist workers' movement. As mayor of Minneapolis, he built much of the welfare structure that is now being dismantled. (See "Rendered Deceased," p.10.)

Humphrey's statue faces the courthouse where the Minnesota Eight were railroaded in the summer of 1993.

Make Minnesota Mean

Minnesota Correctional Facility - Oak Park Heights lies forty minutes outside the Twin Cities amid strip malls and green parks. It's very nice on the outside, if you pretend not to notice the shining rolls of razor wire. Underneath the surface lie several sub-basements of ugliness. A movement that can dig down below the cellar and get at the roots will have to push past the limits of tolerance. The next time a crew shows up at the gate to Oak Park, the reception might not be so polite. Then again, it might. There's no need to crush a movement that poses little threat.

The joint demonstration between Love and Rage and the Equal Justice Committee is an example of one of the many things that need to happen. A mostly white group trying to relearn race treason allied with a mostly-Black group looking for some ad-hoc support. The result was that the demonstrators didn't get totally vamped on, merely patronized. The longer-term result, a movement that can make things really mean, remains in the distance.

Support the Minnesota 8!

Genocide isn't nice. So people who want to stop it shouldn't be.

Three's a Crowd, but 50's a Threat to the President's Self-Esteem!

On September 24, anti-Clinton protesters outside a $1,000-a-plate DFL (Democratic Farm Labor) fund-raiser dinner at the Minneapolis Club were arrested within minutes of gathering at the corner of 2nd Avenue and 8th Street. It is clear that these arrests were politically motivated.

Protesters were demonstrating against U.S. intervention in Haiti, welfare reform, and the Crime Bill. Banners had just been unfurled when ten people were randomly targeted and arrested and the rest of the demo was forced to take a position half way down the block. When asked what gave them the jurisdiction to do this, the police stated that they were following the orders of Clinton's secret service.

After they had relocated the demonstration, a line of twenty cops stood in front of the protesters to keep them contained and out of view. Nonetheless, a passionate demonstration, which had been organized by the Welfare Rights Committee, Progressive Student Organization, Up and Out of Poverty, and the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) continued, despite the arrests, with a renewed anger against the pigs and the president.

During the rally, a 50 year-old protester passed out and began having seizures. As members of the rally attempted to get him to Hennepin County Medical Center for emergency medical care, their car was detained by the police for fifteen minutes. Eighth Street was open to traffic and other cars were driving by. The man was denied the right to get the medical care he needed because of his political views.

Speakers from Welfare Rights Committee, Up and Out of Poverty, the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, Women Against Military Madness, Agitator Index, CISPES, and the International Socialist Organization attacked the popular misconception that our government upholds democracy.

As the demonstration progressed, the corner that had been deemed "off limits" to the Clinton protesters was occupied by Clinton supporters and Republican and far-right protesters, making it more obvious that the "left" political view had been intentionally suppressed.

On October 7, members of the Welfare Rights Committee, Up and Out of Poverty and other supporting groups organized a meeting with the mayor and the chief of police. The groups presented a list of demands to Katherine Heely, the mayor's chief of staff, and Deputy Police Chief Greg Hestness. Mayor Sales-Belton and Police Chief John Laux did not attend. The demands were: 1) An end to all political harassment, discrimination and repression of social activists; 2) A complete investigation into the police actions that occurred on September 24, including those responsible for directing and carrying it out; 3) concrete steps to prevent this violation of constitutional rights from ever happening again; 4) A public reprimand of the police department and all other parties involved. None of the city officials made a clear commitment to follow up on any of these demands.

photo: Justine Abinni

After 10 arrests Clinton protesters continued to demonstrate!

Eight of the ten arrested have a pretrial date set for December 19. Two protesters' charges were dropped because no formal police complaints against them were ever found. The remaining defendants are planning to take their case to a jury trial. They are charged with misdemeanors (failure to comply with a police officer). All disorderly conduct charges have been dropped. Mark Warnberg and Jerry Peterson have been chosen as lawyers for the eight activists, from among a slew of attorneys willing to do pro bono work for this case.

—Justine Abinni

Out of the Synagogue and Into the Streets!

JAM Condemns the INS on Yom Kippur

September 15,1994

"When we hear of Haitians being forcibly repatriated or detained at Guantanamo, we think of the St. Louis, filled with German-Jewish refugees denied entry to the U.S. by President Roosevelt in 1939." —Rachel Buff, Jewish Activist Minyan (JAM)

photo: Justine Abinni

In 1939, Franklin Roosevelt forcibly repatriated thousands of Jewish refugees in order to preserve his "New Deal Coalition" among anti-semitic Southern white voters. Because of this American xenophobia, there were 1,000,000 immigration slots left unfilled in America during the years of the Holocaust, even as the U.S. condemned the Third Reich as the most brutal regime in human history. The current U.S. policy towards Haitian refugees, which is a continuation of Reagan's 1981 policy, makes it clear that the U.S. government believes that such criminal behavior is still acceptable.

JAM recognizes U.S. policy towards Haitian immigrants as part of a long tradition of politically-motivated restriction of unwanted immigrants. This directly violates the Geneva Convention on Human Rights, which defined refugees as "persons who fear returning to their homeland due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion." Although this is clearly true for Haitian immigrants, whose illegal government has engaged in mass murder and torture of political dissidents, the U.S. does not currently allow Haitians political refugee status. Our current policy is thus an explicit violation of Article 33 of the Convention, which forbids "refoulement"—or the forced repatriation of refugees to life-threatening territories.

Although Aristide has returned to Haiti, we should not assume that the refugee issue is obsolete. Unless the Haitian police and military are significantly reformed, Haiti will continue to be vulnerable to *coups d'etat* and accompanying political violence. The U.S. should support human rights for refugees on principle—not according to political convenience.

To protest the current policy of refoulement, the Jewish Activist Minyan showed up at a local INS on Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). Wearing tallesim and blowing the shofar, JAM read a list of U.S. wrongdoings against Haiti. By modeling their protest on a traditional holiday observance, JAM members explained that they were reinterpreting Yom Kippur as a call for social justice. With the chant, "Out of the Synagogue and Into the Streets," JAM called on fellow Jews to join them in becoming a visible part of the activist community.

—Rebecca Hill and Max Sparber

SOUTH HIGH *WALKS OUT*

400 students at South High School walked out on October 12th to protest harassment and misuse of authority by off-duty police officers stationed in our school. Although harassment and over-stepping boundaries have been common, one incident that escalated to physical abuse triggered the walk-out.

On Friday, October 7th, two cops at South showed that they *label all African-*American men as "gang members" and all women that question authority as "violent and bizarre."

An unidentified African-American student was harassed and threatened by two cops and two hall monitors while he was walking through the commons. After he showed his pass they threatened to kick him out of school for "looking like a gang member." A teacher who helps organize the African-American Student Association reported the incident as discrimination and misuse of authority. Cops are not responsible for checking passes.

Adrienne Logsdon also witnessed this incident of harrassment. She responded by yelling out "Leave him alone, this is fucked up!" Immediately, Officers Rose and Creghten and hall monitors Archie and Tony rushed over to her and yelled "Or what? What are you going to do?" trying to induce a threat. After a few minutes of arguing Archie said, "If you're waiting for a ride why don't you wait outside?" Adrienne said "Fine," and got up to leave. The cops decided to escort her out, still arguing with her. She turned and said "I should..."—then realizing she hadn't done anything wrong and the confrontation was almost over—"Never mind," she finished and walked out the door. The cops came up from behind her, and one put his hands around her neck in a choke hold while the other cop pulled her arms behind her back and handcuffed her. In the police report, the reason for arrest was that "she appeared violent and bizarre, she was a danger to others and herself."

South High's African-American Student Association, the Women's Resource Center, and the Class President have all written letters asking for the removal of Rose and Creghten. Adrienne and her mother are suing the school. —Katrina

Community Calendar

Thurs.,December 1, 7:30-10:30, *Roller Disco*, Rhythmland Roller Rink, 1835 Central Ave. NE Joint benefit for the Seward Cafe and the Emma Center, $5.

Mon.,December 5, Noon *Vigil for Survival*, NSP Headquarters, N$P Plaza, 5th & Nicollet, Mpls. To protest nuclear storage on Indigenous at Prairie Island. FFI call 612-333-5807.

Mon., December 5, 7PM, *Chiapas Alert! Mexico Update*, Theater of Coffman Union, 300 Washington Ave. SE A video showing, photo/slide exhibit, and informal discussion about current developments in Chiapas and in Mexico. Sponsored and organized by La Raza Student Cultural Center and The Committee in Solidarity with the Defense of Human Rights in Mexico.

Wed., December 7, 7PM, *Fighting Fascism: Then and Now!* Minneapolis Community College, Fine Arts Building Rm.135 Videos,speakers, and discussion. Organized by Anti-Racist Action.

Thurs., December 8 (Women only) & Fri., December 9 (Open to the general public), 7:30PM, *Women Harrassed by Security Forces*, Arise! Bookstore, 2117 Lyndale Ave. A presentation and discussion with Patricia Black, recently back from three months in occupied Derry, Ireland.

Fri., December 9, 4:30, *Demonstration in Solidarity With Mexico*, Federal Building on 4th St., Mpls The day after the PRI inauguration. Organized by The Committee in Solidarity with the Defense of Human Rights in Mexico.

Wed., December 14, 8PM, FILMS, *Through the Wire* and *Frame-Up!*, Red Eye Theater, 15 W. 14th St. Films about prison repression and political prisoners. Post-film discussion led by a member of Agitator Index. Organized by Agitator Index and The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation Mpls. Local.

Wed., January 3, 8PM, FILMS, *Chiapas: La Otra Guerra* and *Zapatistas: The Next Phase of the Struggle*, Red Eye Theater, 15 W. 14th St. Films marking the *year anniversary of the uprising in Chiapas, Mexico.* Post-film discussion lead by Agitator Index. (Speaker to be announced.) Organized by Agitator Index and The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation Mpls. Local.

ARA is back!

Anti-Racist Action meets every Wed., at 7PM at May Day Bookstore on the West Bank

Nuclear Shit Piling-Up

Over 500 people descended on NSP's Prairie Island Nuclear Power Plant near Red Wing, Minnesota on August 27. NSP thought that they had won the battle to store nuclear waste on Prairie Island in the Mississippi River—we were there to tell them they were wrong.

The Prairie Island Power Plant has produced death and suffering since it opened in 1973. Dr. Rosalie Bartell, a cancer researcher, concluded that at least 41 people die for each year the plant operates. Newer research indicates that this number is grossly inadequate, as breast cancer has skyrocketed by 43% around Prairie Island since 1980, compared to only single digit increases elsewhere.

Since the beginning, the Mdewakanton Sioux have been looking for answers in their own back yard, and what they see is pretty frightening. The nuclear reactors are located only a few hundred yards from their day care center, adjacent to the reservation where they hunt, eat, and live. Their wells are contaminated with tritium from the power plant, and the fish they catch have extra fins and wart-like growths.

So in August, members of the tribe asked for help in stopping the violence against them and their families. Led by Michael Anyhow Carter, a Native American, thirty-six protesters blockaded the road leading to NSP's nuclear facility with our bodies and a symbolic web of resistance.

On October, we repeated the action, this time in downtown Minneapolis at NSP's corporate headquarters. Over 20 people were arrested for crossing police lines.

The Down River Alliance finished off the month of October with a Halloween action at the Governor's Mansion. Carlson's approval last spring of a law which permits NSP to store its nuclear waste permanently at Prairie Island will haunt future generations for the next 240,000 years.

Now that Minnesotans know the struggle did not end in the annals of the state capitol, we plan to escalate our tactics on December 5. We will return to NSP Plaza. If you are part of an affinity group that would like to coordinate actions with other groups such as WAMM (Women Against Military Madness), PSO (Progressive Student Organization), Earth First!, and the Emma Center—or if you want to individually help coordinate the effort contact Brian @ 724-8286. (See "Community Calendar" on this page for more info about the upcoming demo.) There will also be a nonviolent civil disobedience training on December 4 at Sabathani Community Center at 6:30-9pm in Room F.

—Brian Dellert

photo: Rob Meyer

More Local News on page 23!

Felony Charges For Self-defense
ANTI-RACIST ACTIVIST AWAITS TRIAL

Charged with two felonies for self-defense, Kieran Frazier Knutson still awaits trial.

It's been over a year since Kieran Frazier Knutson was charged with two counts of felony assault for defending himself and others against a nazi bonehead. The nazi, Daniel Simmer, attacked participants in an anti-racist demonstration on October 22, 1993. The trial has been delayed four times, with the fifth trial date set for November 29, 1994. [*The Blast!* went to before we knew the final outcome] On October 3, the last court date, Kieran's defense attorney Keith Ellison, asked the judge to drop one of the conditions of release that had been placed on Kieran. This condition prohibits him from going onto the University of Minnesota campus, where the demonstration took place. Ellison argued that Kieran may be interested in pursuing his education there. The judge rejected his plea.

The prosecution's subpoenas of a *Minnesota Daily* staff reporter and unreleased press photos are causing the delays. Gemma Graham, prosecuting attorney for the state, is doing anything she can to try to pull some evidence together in her defense of a nazi. At this point all she has is the testimony of another nazi, Amy Foreman, who is also Daniel Simmer's fiancee. If the rulings come down in the prosecution's favor, the subpoenas will set a dangerous precedent that could give the state easy access to press photos and reporters testimony in other cases, thus forcing the press to become an arm of the state. Since issuance of the subpoenas on May 3, The *Daily* had been prepared to carry this issue of the freedom of the press to the Minnesota Supreme Court, although this is now in question

On October 11, the Court of Appeals heard the oral arguments for and against the subpoena of former *Minnesota Daily* reporter Jesse Rosen. The prosecution's attorney, Donna Wolfson, argued that Rosen had a duel presence as a reporter and an individual at the demo and that Rosen is the only available "neutral" witness. She also argued that Rosen waived his privilege to refuse a subpoena by making a statement to the police.

Marshal Tannick, attorney for *The Daily*, argued that Rosen is protected by the Constitution and state shield laws that uphold the confidentiality of the press. Tannick argued that at the time of Rosen' s statement there were no criminal proceedings, so the issue of a waiver did not even apply. He also argued that there are alternative means of finding neutral witnesses.

On Monday, November 14, the State Court of Appeals ruled that Jesse Rosen must testify and that the First Amendment does not protect journalists who witness an event from testifying in criminal trials. *The Daily* is undecided about whether they will challenge this ruling by taking an appeal to the State Supreme Court.

On November 29, the same day as the next scheduled trial date, oral arguments are to begin for *The Daily's* appeal of the photo subpoenas. The prosecution is expected to ask for another delay.

The Anti-Fascist Defense Committee, which formed after charges were brought against Kieran, is still waging struggle against this unjust prosecution of an anti-racist activist. Call or write a letter and voice your opinion against the charges: demand they be dropped, and demand that infringements on the freedom of the press be stopped. Write to Mike Freeman, County Attorney, C2000 Hennepin County Govt. Ctr., Minneapolis, MN 55415 or call him at 612-348-5550.

The AFDC continues to meet on Sunday nights at Mayday Bookstore. Those interested in helping keep Kieran out of prison are welcome. The Committee is also in need of funds for mailing and flyers. Send contributions to AFDC, POB 7075, Mpls., MN 55407. —Justine Abinni

Street Freak Found Not Guilty!

On November 4, Michael "Violetta" Haldeman was found not guilty of 5th degree assault and 3rd degree damage to property by a jury of his—ahem—peers. Haldeman was arrested after questioning police actions on January 11 when cops stormed The Streat Freak Fair in hot persuit of a jaywalking youth while jaywalking yuppies rested in their lovely homes. Haldeman watched as police brutally arrested a woman attending the Fair. As police made arrests, a rock was thrown at a squad car, breaking its window. In his closing statements, defense attorney John Mahoney said, "The only thing Mr. Haldeman is guilty of is saying 'She' s not an animal." Frameworks, a space for homeless youth and the group that organized the Fair, had received a city permit for the event. —Justine Abinni

Fries &Shake With Your Imperialism?

Protesters Trash Mickey D's in Mexico City

photo: Thor Swift, Impact Visuals

STUDENT STRIKE: High school and middle school students in Porterville, a central California farming community, protest 187. Before the vote, half a million had protested on both sides of the border. Masked demonstrators in Mexico City attacked a McDonald's.

Despite Big Opposition, Racist Measure Passes in California

Students Storm Out Throughout State; Some Seize Buildings

Police and National Guard "Ready," Govt. Warns

by Nikolas Kautz

All sides reacted swiftly to news that California voters had approved a strict anti-immigrant measure by a margin of 59 to 41 percent: the re-elected governor ordered nursing homes to turn away the elderly and hospitals to bar pregnant women, unless they could prove their citizenship. Opponents secured emergency court orders blocking enforcement. Crowds gathered and scuffles broke out with riot police. Students struck and took over their campuses.

But the quietest reaction was possibly the most widespread: It was the fear. If the tense weeks leading up to the election saw large, militant — and frequently young, even very young — demonstrations, the morning after the vote felt a cold front of anxiety and suspicion roll across California. How could you know who had voted for Proposition 187, termed "Save Our State?" Did your teacher, the people standing around you at the busstop, the customers you wait on at work, consider it *their* state — and not yours?

In the mind of everyone whose skin is not lilly white, who does not speak the Queen's English, lurk the heart-stopping questions, "Will somebody suspect me? Will I be asked for my papers?"

Citizens Will Break the Law

Nevertheless, numerous teachers, nurses and doctors, and social workers have announced they will not report "suspected" non-citizens to the immigration service. Many have said their job is to teach, to heal, to serve, but not to "suspect." On the one hand, passage of the measure — for which about 70 percent of whites voters cast their ballots — and, on the other, public vows not to comply with it reveal a widening rift that slices through the entire U.S. On one side stand recipients of those few privileges still available in

cont. on p. 23

Blast! received the following communique:

In May 1994, activists entered an NSP substation in St. Paul. A truck was attacked: locks glued, etching fluid on the shield, slogans against nuke power and the dump at Prairie Island sprayed, & wires cut.

In Oct. 1994, the Animal Liberation Front attacked 2 area fur stores: Alaskan Furs & another. Locks glued, glass etched with fluid, and slogans "Stop or Burn" and "Stop the Death Trade, ALF" sprayed. We encourage all pissed off people to get out there at night and join us. [signed] ROCKLER

Haiti Meets New Boss: Welfare Cuts, New Cops, Free Trade, Sound Familiar?

by Nikolas Kautz

This summer and autumn, during the last months of the coup in Haiti (also the last months of Aristide's term as president), leftists could not agree whether to oppose the looming U.S. military intervention, or to hope for it. Many political refugees and solidarity activists believed that Clinton might use troops to drive out the coup leaders, and then withdraw them before they became an army of occupation. No one, least of all Haitians themselves, had forgotten the last U.S. military visit there, a nasty 30-year stay.

Anti-interventionists argued the obvious principle that *nothing* the U.S. does can be good for the People, and that intervention is like sending the arsonist to put out the fire. But a lot of this noise came from outside the small, well-informed, dedicated Haiti movement, and it was too vague and sloganeering to be of much to help to the anti-interventionists in it.

Before the Sept. 20 "unopposed landing," groups in several cities had demonstrated against immigration policy, the embargo, and the threat of military intervention, as well as simply against the coup leaders. But consensus against intervention was impossible. The ousted president himself, and his immediate support base (exiles in North America) were at the end of their rope, and were ready to accept a military occupation as the price of returning to power.

Recriminations between "interventionists" and "anti-interventionists" are now beside the point. Now everyone sees and admits what has happened. U.S. policy was continuous, start to finish:

- The coup to strip Aristide of power but keep him alive and in exile;
- the U.S. foot-dragging over sanctions against the illegal regime;
- the embargo that ruined ordinary Haitians and largely left the coup-leaders alone;
- the State Department's arm-twisting of Aristide to sign outrageous agreements with the men who deposed him;
- and the invasion, or whatever it was,

were all steps in a single, strategic direction. The skeleton chronology above makes more sense if you write it on the same calendar along with the signing of NAFTA among Canada, the U.S., and Mexico. The goal of Republicans and Democrats in the ruling class, with only tactical differences, is to keep some financial security in a world that doesn't act like it used to. Bush and Clinton are equally married to NAFTA. Both of them know that the U.S. has to dominate the whole hemisphere in order to survive. That includes that Caribbean. That includes Haiti.

The other shoe has dropped. The Haitian Information Bureau, an alternative news agency, publicly attacked the economic agreement Aristide signed in August with his foreign lenders. The "Strategy of Social and Economic Reconstruction" is "an economic straitjacket severely limiting Aristide's ability to make or reform economic policy," and "has caused a great deal of criticism among his supporters."

At a Paris meeting with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Interamerican Development Bank, and the U.S., France, and Canada, an economist from the old days of Baby Doc represented the new, constitutional Haitian regime. The government promised to:

- shift civil services from government to the corporate and church sectors, and allow transnational forces to direct them;
- allow foreign investment (in the name of keeping the Haitian rich from getting richer);
- lay off half the government's 45-thousand civil servants and sell off state-owned industries (to Haitians? Not likely);
- abolish tariffs;
- resume paying the foreign debt, estimated at 800-million U.S. dollars.

A military built with foreign development money and largely trained by the U.S. put Aristide on a plane at gunpoint mere weeks after he tried to raise the minimum wage. This military then had 36 months in which to murder the mass movement that had demanded so much basic change. The hunger and desperation of the embargo was supposed to finish off whatever resistance was left. Stay tuned. It may not have. But then the troops are still there.

In any case, welfare reform, Dole-Gingrich style, is coming to Haiti. But recall that this deal was sealed in August, when Democrats held the U.S. government.

info: Haitian Information Bureau, by way of Third World Network / 228 Macalister Road / 10400 Penang / Malaysia
Email: twn@igc.apc.org
Phone: (+604)2293511; Fax: (+604)364505.

Indonesia's Crackdown: Smash Squats, Put Workers on Trial, Get Australian Aid

Strikes Double in One Year

E. Timorese Youth Occupy U.S Embassy For Clinton Visit

As the domestic labor struggle heats up and the East Timorese people gain international victories, the Indonesian regime of President Suharto is showing telltale signs of trouble: Repression and compromise.

The U.S. and Western capital are hungry for workers and markets in the Asia-Pacific region, and "stability" is a prerequisite.

The official Indonesian news agency admitted strikes had doubled in 1994, largely over employers' failure to pay the new minimum wage, and the government continues to criminalize labor organizing. Thirty workers were jailed after a major demonstration last April, in which property was damaged and a businessman killed. Fifty more workers are still on trial, and a labor leader was arrested in October.

Military and government officials have made a show of urging the country's official union to be more "responsive" to workers, and have lured Australia to fund this sweet-heart union, over the loud objections of workers.

In October, several hundred troops and police used tear gas and water canon to break up a long-standing squat near the central business district of the capital, Jakarta. At least 500 hundred families were displaced.

Also that month, a U.S. Federal court in Boston heard *the testimony of a former Malaysian journalist who is suing an Indonesian general who commanded a* 1991 massacre in Dili, the capital of East Timor. The journalist's son was among at least 200 demonstrators killed when troops opened fire on 1 thousand protestors against Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The general was enrolled in the Harvard Business School, but fled the U.S. to avoid the suit.

Meanwhile, in mid-November, Suharto stated he was willing to begin a "dialogue" with East Timorese rebels, who have been fighting since Indonesia's 1975 invasion. Ten days earlier, the nation had declared its independence from colonial Portugal.

East Timorese activists were cool to the announcement, which came shortly before President Clinton's November junket to the region.

About 30 East Timorese youths scaled the fence of the U.S. embassy in Jakarta hours before Clinton's arrival to protest Indonesia's occupation of their nation and U.S. complicity.

Clinton visited the Pacific Rim and China; 18 Pacific Rim countries discussed free trade. It can only mean bad news.

INDONESIA OUT OF EAST TIMOR: East Timorese students climbed the U.S. embassy fence in Jakarta, Indonesia, to wait for Pres. Clinton, who was too busy to see them.

At a Conference in Columbus, 150 Activists Found 'Midwest Anti-Fascist Network'

Countering a Midwest Organizing Drive by Racists

by Nancy

THE KLAN IS ALWAYS RECRUITING and holding rallies; the neo-nazi music scene is growing and hiding behind the label of "pro-white metal;" and white-power groups continue to scout out young people for their organizations.

WHERE ARE WE? Anti-fascists across the world are asking themselves not only what their responses have been and *whether they are effective, but also how* strong their movement is. There has been widespread sentiment that we are not as powerful as we need to be, and that what's especially important in countering that is the need to know and support each other all over, and to share information, ideas and success stories.

Columbus Anti-Racist Action is one of the organizations that is aware of this need for more formalized structure among anti-fascist groups and for better networking among us. They took charge and put a call out last July to midwest groups to come to a weekend-long conference October 15-16 in Columbus, OH. They rented a high school (and a bar for Saturday night festivities) and set up workshops, video presentations, discussions, food, and housing for about 150 people.

Some of the workshops:

- What to do when the Klan comes to town
- How to set up your own pirate radio station
- Black/Jewish relations
- Confronting the nazi music scene.

These presentations were well-organized and well attended. People swapped inspiring and informative stories, and different groups proposed strategies and points of unity throughout.

Columbus ARA's organizing this conference and extending such gracious hospitality was no doubt a move in the right direction and is much appreciated by all who attended. That first step was just what we needed. However, those who came with the hopes of leaving with a concrete structure in place and a strong sense of unity among organizations didn't leave satisfied. It was a long drive for many, coming from as far away as Toronto, Ann Arbor, Minneapolis and even New York City, so the fact that not a lot of decisions were made was a letdown for some. Still, all in all, the conference was a success in that it was the first of its kind, a lot of anti-fascist organizers got to meet and swap numbers and information for the first time, and we now have an experience to look back on, appreciate, and improve upon.

It was clear from this first anti-fascist conference that we all are motivated, passionate, and ready to fight nazis wherever they are. There was a renewed commitment made to supporting each other in organizing against the Klan and other white supremacists when they hold their rallies. It's vital that sending each other news about any and all white supremacist organizing gets more and more organized so that we are all aware of their tactics, and also so that we can rush to support every local struggle as powerfully as possible. The more our movement is tightly organized, the more likely we will be to attract more committed people to fight with us. Let's get more of these types of conferences planned for cities all over, share the information that comes out of them and learn from it. We are moving in the right direction. Our determination and outrage is much more powerful than their fear-based hate.

Anti-Queer Murders in South

Serial-Killer Confesses to 6; 2 More Near Camp Sister Spirit

The FBI said Nov. 23 a Virginia man confessed to murdering 6 gay men in Georgia, Florida, and Maryland, including his roommate and men he met in bars. Authorities said they were uncertain if another serial-killing suspect was still at large.

Seperately, the sheriff of the Mississippi county in which women-only land, Camp Sister Spirit, has come under attack told reporters he would not treat the execution-style shootings of 2 gay men as a hate crime.

Info: Leslie Feinberg, Workers World; and class-enemy press

Berkeley Runs Out Holocaust Denier

Two hundred people who refused to forget the Holocaust scored a "partial but important success" October 13 in Berkeley, CA, when they tried to prevent pseudo-historian and fascist organizer David Irving from speaking, according to local activists.

The author of sympathetic biographies of Hitler, Goering, and Rommel has devoted his career to reducing the 6 million Jews murdered by the Nazis and arguing it could have happened without Hitler 's knowledge. Slated for the Alumni House, Irving's speech was moved to a nearby YMCA to avoid demonstrators who had already occupied the hall, Infoshop Berkeley stated in an e-mail statement.

"Scouts quickly determined the new location and informed the crowd, which then moved en masse to the YWCA. Finding no police present, protesters stormed the hall, confronting the liar and his supporters," the statement said. Activists confiscated and destroyed hate literature and copies of a Holocaust-denying video.

"Although we were not able to prevent the lecture from taking place, we did seriously disrupt it, chasing away many would-be supporters and destroying a lot of his racist propaganda," Infoshop said.

"Many of us were pleasantly surprised by the level of militancy displayed by protesters against the hate mongers and the breadth of participation. Many passers-by joined the protest or were otherwise supportive, adding to the collective spirit of anti-fascist solidarity," the statement added.

Perhaps the activists need not be so modest. A class-enemy wire service termed the disruption a "riot," and quoted a high-ranking police official at length, assuring a nervous populace that calm had prevailed.

Italian Partisans Try to Cancel Fascist Stamp

While the November U.S. election elated conservatives here, their counterparts in Italy have greater reason to rejoice. American politicians who favor a police state with no social services must content themselves with specific pieces of repressive legislation. In Italy, right-wing ideas enjoy currency so widespread that Mussolini's favorite philosopher can be raised from his grave of shame.

With five seats in the current cabinet, fascist National Alliance ministers proposed issuing a postage stamp with the face of philosopher Giovani Gentile, who joined the Fascist Party in 1923 and whom left-wing partisans assassinated in 1944.

The suggestion prompted a mild letter from the Italian Federation of Partisan Associations and the National Association of Italian Partisans. The groups represent Italian veterans of the armed movement that spanned Nazi-occupied Europe, and sometimes controlled liberated zones.

Sadly, the group apparently had no stomach even to call a demonstration. The conservative government recently provoked the greatest unrest since World War II by proposing cuts in social security and other programs.

Prime Minister Silvio Burlusconi may soon be ousted in a corruption scandal. But with or without him, the Italian right is confident enough to march from its base among intellectuals and business leaders, and has temporarily captured some of the cultural middle ground.

In Brief:

RACIST POLICE MURDER SPARKS RIOT

LEXINGTON, KY — African-American youth pelted riot cops Oct. 26 with bottles & rocks and overturned cars of the assistant police chief & 2 TV stations after cops raided a housing project & killed a Black teen. Police pleaded "accidental discharge." The FBI is investigating (in charge of damage control).

URBAN GUERILLA OFFENSIVE

GERMANY — The Anti-Imperialist Cell, which bombed ruling party offices in 3 cities this summer, said in November more attacks will come and urged solidarity with accused Red Army Fracton member Birgit Hogefeld, whose trial for "terrorism" began on Nov. 15. Accused RAF member Irmgard Moller was freed after 22 years inside.

ANTI—FASCISTS ON TRIAL

BERLIN — Four Turkish and Kurdish anti-fascists, one German anti-fascist, and 2 youths went on trial Sept. 20 for the fatal 1992 stabbing of a nazi politician. By accident, neighbors discovered a meeting of high-ranking nazis in a Chinese restaurant in a largely-immigrant neighborhood. Masked people broke up the meeting, and two nazi politicans were stabbed. One later died. The seven on trial cannot be identified as the assailants.

REVOLUTION RADIO ROBBED

MEXICO CITY — Federal police raided independent radio station Televerdad Oct. 9 and seized everything. Journalists scrounged up equipment to launch "Radio Pirata" and broadcast 3 hours a week. Solidarity demos in California demanded the Mexican govt. return confiscated equipment. Twelve familes control Mexican radio.

ANTI-CHOICE TERROR

CALIFORNIA — Anti-choice terrorists firebombed 2 clinics Oct. 8, doing $3,000 damage at each. Anti's burned Feminist Women's Health Clinic, Redding, to the ground in 1992. Planned Parenthood office, Chico, had been stink bombed before.

VANCOUVER — An anti-choice sniper with an AK-47 badly wounded an abortion doctor in his home Nov. 8. The doctor is recovering. So, apparently, is the anti-choice movement; Jesus-addled drop-outs from its defeated above-ground movement are taking target practice.

PORTLAND, OR — Jesus freak Rachelle Shannon, doing 10 years for wounded a doctor in Wichita, was indicted Oct. 24 for 30 arson and acid attacks in OR, NV, CA, and Idaho in 1992 and 1993.

ANTI-CHOICE CLOWN WITH BADGE

SEATTLE — When two speeders told a Washington state trooper they were late for an appointment at Planned Parenthood, he lectured them for 90 minutes on the importance of forced pregnancy, then dragged them to a church camp, where the woman, 18, and her male companion, 20, were Jesus-bombed for 3 hours. The woman kept her appointment and had an abortion. The cop has been reassigned. No word on the church camp.

FOOD NOT FELONIES

SAN FRANCISCO — A member of the group that has defied the city government by feeding homeless people at City Hall will not face felony charges under an agreement with a judge. Keith McHenry of Food Not Bombs had been jailed on five charges and was at risk under California's "3 strikes and your out" law, which mandates life terms for "repeat offenders."

FREE-TRADE BULLIES

WASHINGTON, DC — The Democrats and Republicans manuvered jointly to let the U.S. have its world-trade cake and eat it, too: Pres. Clinton and Senate Majority Leader Dole patched up their sham difference on approval of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, *Blast!* #3). They agreed that a U.S. panel will make rulings independently of the World Trade Organization, which will enforce the treaty on, uh, less powerful states.

LETTERS

LOVE AND RAGE HAS TO GET OUT OF THE ARM-CHAIR, AND WORK WITH THE PEOPLE

Greetings,

Actually, i have, time and again, intended to write to *The Blast*, but on the occasion of Chris Day's letter in number 3, i am now dropping a line. Before i address anything, though, i wanted to take care of some business.

i have been pretty impressed by *The Blast* on several occasions. It is a fairly well-thought-out paper and i gotta say that i like it better than most of the shit that passes as a 'movement' publication because it isn't stuck out on a cloud with no basis in reality. You have my regards. By the way, i work with yet another publication, *Black Fist*, and wanted to say thanks for the props we got from a reviewer in number 2. One problem though — *Black Fist* is based in Houston, not Austin. Still, it is the thought that counts, so thanks.

Those things said, from here on out, any thoughts are mine only and shouldn't be considered the thinking of the collective or *Black Fist*. Oh, and before I go any further, i have never found myself to be necessarily anti-L and R. This is just how I see this debate unfolding.

Chris Day's response in *Blast!* #3 to Ojore Lutalo's letter in *Blast!* #2 raised a number of issues to me, and i felt compelled to address them. Don't think i'm some savior to Ojore Lutalo, of course, because he's more than capable of defending himself. i just had a lot of problems with Day's critique, which, for me, showed the problems the so-called anarchist movement has, that there truly is a sizable gulf between the progressive and the revolutionary — much of which is determined by race and class, and why so many have ditched Love and Rage's confused and (if I read Day correctly) slightly paranoid politics.

For as harsh as Ojore Lutalo's criticism as L and R was, like it or not, he has a point. What defines a revolutionary? Having some long-winded manifesto or working paper or even having a gun and some fuzzy politics doesn't make you revolutionary. Lutalo, in his piece, outlines a few facets of what activities have historically defined a revolutionary group, including people's centers, armed formations and the like. In his opening, Day chooses to sensationalize Lutalo's critique, reducing it to a caricature of armed struggle as a way to label his thought "absurd." The ridiculousness of Day's technique should be apparent; issue after issue of Love and Rage's paper is full of stories glamorizing the real struggles of colonized people waging war against oppressors, and said organization is willing to write reams about them to boost itself on the radical chic meter, but sure as hell won't offer material aid, such as arms. However, as long as the colored folks are the cannonfodder for L and R's class war fantasies (i.e. "I believe that creating armed formations ... now is to simply expose OURSELVES (emphasis added) to repression") it seems no big deal.

Day's assessment that the revolutionary potential of the (white, middle class) community begs the question. What is L and R doing to solidify and advance revolutionary potential? Thus far, it seems like the work is confined to Day taking apart Lutalo, a New Afrikan revolutionary and political prisoner, because he has the honesty to point out that L and R does not have in place the facets that historically defined revolutionary groups. Is Lutalo baiting people because he makes this observation? No, but Day's defensiveness comes very close to branding Lutalo an agent provocateur. It is this kind of labelling of our soldiers, who've dedicated their lives to the struggle, that is the real danger (and shame), not critiquing organizational orientation. i also question Day's assumption that his members (and I say 'his members' with purpose) will engage in "actions that are ill-considered" to prove themselves to anyone. L and R itself can't even decide what it's own internal polics are, much less how to implement a program to bring overthrow closer.

Day, in criticizing Lutalo, is also reductionist in implicitly claiming that there are a myriad of questions that Love and Rage has yet to define (i.e. "Ojore seems to think that all the big questions about what it takes to make a revolution have been answered ... "). In fact, the struggle of Black/New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists, indigenous fighters and history itself gives us a blueprint for ways to go. Anarchists, often being intellectually lazy when it comes to history, are thus apt to say that there are still so many questions to figure out, as if the battles fought by people of color and radicals here and abroad never happened.

We are ideologically further than many think, and when the anarchist movement abandons its white, middle class orientation, it will take another leap. The failure of Day and indeed many others to see the revolutionary potential today because it is very much a function of race and class; white, middle class people don't see it because their community has the most to maintain in defending the cyst'm. Sections of the Black and Chicano poor and lumpen are but one example of those with nothing to lose, but anarchism is as irrelevant to their/mine/Our experience as the tired left rhetoric. Here is where the anarchist imperative lies.

i am disturbed by Day's assertion that working among the colonized nations within amerika to create food and medical distribution centers is "social work" and, implicitly, not L and R's thing. The greatest crime of the anarchist movement and that of the rest of the sorry white leftist lot as a whole is to moralize while people suffer. Might I suggest that Day carefully re-read Ojore Lutalo's piece and find the quote by Kwame Nkrumah: "go to the people, live among them, learn from them, love them, serve them, plan with them, start with what they know, build (on) what they have."

The problem with most anarchists as a whole and, in my estimation, the "revolutionary" L and R (at this point) in particular is an unwillingness to do this work among the people — especially poor and working-class Black/New Afrikan and Chicano people, young and old. Far too often (often enough that I accept it as a general rule), I see white anarchists who are content hanging out to their alternative scenes, drinking a 40 at some fucked-up 'gathering' and talking out of their assholes rather than going among the colonized people, talking (and testing) ideas (relating with them as opposed to talking AT them and passing out dumb fliers) and proving them through self-discipline and commitment that anarchism is a theory that has results rather than a bullshit philosophy for armchair activists and closet racists.

Ojore Lutalo's idea for centers is hardly new, as everyone from the Black Panthers to different cadres within the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika has sought to create survival centers that help people as well as show them that the principles upon which such projects are founded can produce results. The key point here is that such projects be undertaken WITH the people. But to do that means anarchists must live AMONG the people, which, in turn means leaving the safe confines of one's white, middle-class alternative scene and doing something worthwhile. At this point, perhaps Day might refer to Lutalo's quote from Bonnie Kerness: "I think about the wide gulf between the progressive and the revolutionary ... The former still has fear. They know what is correct but still want a piece of what is!"

As a final note in this overlong response (to which i half-expect a rationalization of why L and R is nice to follow), my last point is only on debate and the paternalist treatment of colonized people. Why is Jesse Jackson referred to as "Jesse" but Bill Clinton is "Mr. Clinton"? Why is Michael Jordan "Mike" but Larry Bird "Bird"? Or "Amos and Andy" (first names, Black) but "Laurel and Hardy" (surnames, European)? It is too readily accepted that an individual can respond "Ojore"-this and "Ojore"-that when it is apparent that it is a debate rather than a simple chat between friends. That condescending bullshit like this isn't called out doesn't surprise me, though.

Still, I like *The Blast!* and look forward to each issue. Thanks for your time, space and patience. Take care.

Freedom got an AK,

Frank, of, but not for Black Fist / 15110 Bellaire, Box 317 / Houston, Texas 77083

REVOLUTION IS MORE COMPLEX THAN STOREFRONTS AND GUNS

Dear *Blast!*

Included in issue two of *The Blast!* was a letter by Ojore N. Lutalo. This letter has since been addressed by Chris Day (a member of Love and Rage). I also feel a need to address Ojore's correspondence; I too am a member of Love and Rage. There is a need to respond to Ojore's dissertation because he pinpoints various aspects of Love and Rage's life, with which he now has sharp differences. In the letter, Ojore states that Love and Rage is inherently and actively racist, and that he is disappointed with the prisoner support work by member groups of Love and Rage. These are serious criticisms because Ojore is an anarchist of African descent and has been imprisoned since 1982 for politically-inspired acts. They would be serious even if he weren't!

Also included in Ojore's letter are his requirements for revolutionary organization and activity. They are posed as a problem with Love and Rage, but their implications are far-reaching. This is what Chris Day responded to, and what I wish to respond to as well.

One of the requirements is that Love and Rage (and presumably all revolutionary groups) be involved in storefront community service. Now to make this response even more complicated than it already is, I couldn't agree more! I couldn't agree more that this type of relationship should be striven for within our respective communities, but in and of itself is this community service revolutionary? I would say no. There is nothing explicitly revolutionary about the numerous religious storefronts, increasingly cooperative, that dot our communities. It can be argued that these are not revolutionary but part of, if anything, the Christian Socialist tradition, and are happily or indifferently afforded a place in the larger society.

What makes a community-based initiative revolutionary is not that it exists or even how it is run but what the totality of the goals of the center are and how it presents itself to the community-at-large. Also important is its position on the sources of the need it is meeting, and how it develops its positions in the face of the powers that be. The basis of all of this is, of course, the politics of any given project. Groups such as the Black Panthers and people such as Kuwasi Balagoon (whom Ojore cites, and who was involved with the Panthers) were meeting a real disparity and were effective in causing the people who came to them to acknowledge the source of their suffering. That this was directly linked to the Panther's politics there is no doubt. However, many of the social services we see today came once from such revolutionary pressure. It is sad but true that the source of reform is often revolution.

So the revolutionary content of a project amounts to the quality and caliber of the politics, not any guns we may have. The lack of guns is another reason Ojore states Love and Rage is not revolutionary.

I agree with Chris on this, but also wish to impart that not only is it a time where this activity could not be sustained,

but the manner in which it's being discussed leaves little opportunity for its future. Someone in Ojore's position must surely understand this?

At another point, Ojore hypothetically asks Love and Rage that if the group is revolutionary why do we not have any imprisoned members? To answer this question in weightlifting terms, this would be called "negative training." That is, guaging our successes by our failures (if only temporary, given the many skilled opportunities taken by political prisoners/POW's in radicalizing their surroundings). There seems little opportunity to organize the communities we wish to service with this as the desired effect of that organizing.

When it's said "to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing," an attack is usually met with deflection and counterattack with the goal being to make sure we are not attacked again. This seems to be the shared analysis of many of the movements (imprisoned or dissipated) who have faced repression and death.

This (death) is Ojore's last requirement for revolutionary organizers. For an answer to this you only need look above, and to say it is not other comrades who we should be organizing and wishing death!

However, I believe Ojore rightly poses that while it has been the experience of other movements elsewhere (Europe, for instance) to strike out at complicated issues such as international trade, economic bodies, biotechnology, war efforts, etc., revolutionary understanding and the movements that spring from that understanding here in North America will most likely come from the issues of hand-to-mouth.

Sustain the Time!
Big B

AD-SEG SAYS THUMBS UP TO *THE BLAST!*

To whomever it may concern,

I would like to subscribe to *The Blast!* and I would also like to be put on the subscription list so I can continue receiving it. I already had a chance to read *The Blast!* and I really liked it. Matter of fact, as I sit here and write to you all, I'm sitting here with the Aug/Sept. '94 issue. I got it from a dear and close friend of mine (Mwati McKenzie). He's known throughout Minnesota as one of the Minnesota 8, as you may already know. *[see article, page 3 — ed.]*

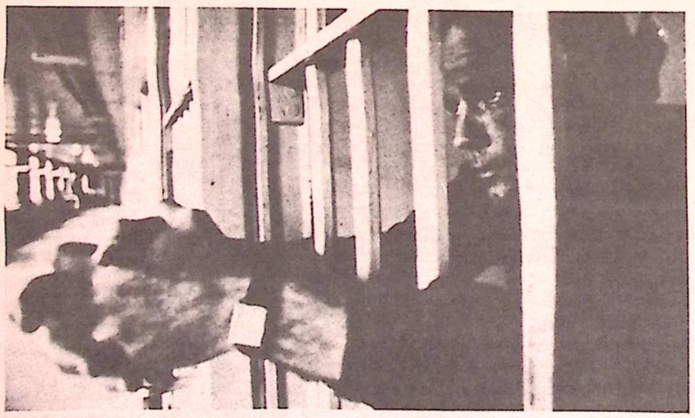
Anyhow, I would like to give my respect to the person or persons who wrote the article on page 14 of the Aug/Sept. '94 *Blast!* on kkkontrol units in Amerikkka *[the article was written by Shaka Shakur, formerly of the Westville, Indiana kkkontrul unit. See "Shots" page 19 for an update on Shakur. —ed.]* I've had first hand experience in a kkkontrol unit. As I speak now, I'm currently serving a 180-day sentence in a kkkontrol unit (segregation). Although I'm not in "de worst of de worst" kkkontrol units there is, I'm in one that comes pretty close, in my opinion. I've been in here numerous times and believe me, it's no picnic. I've been in here for petty things such as verbal abuse, threats, disorderly conduct, and even for being in an "Unauthorized Area."

Unfortunately, instead of going to trial for my offenses, I took a deal for them. The reason I did so was because we can't get no justice in here. Every inmate that I know that come through the kkkontrol unit (seg) doors come through them for dumb reasons. The staff that works here got the audacity to have a little courtroom where we go to get our charges read off to us. It's really called The Hearing Room and we can either plead guilty to the offense or we can go to trial for the offense(s). Every inmate that I know that took their case to trial has gotten found guilty.

The staff here treats us like we're little kids. The hour we get out our cells don't even seem like an hour but more like 45 minutes. We come out our cells Monday through Friday for a so-called hour, but on Saturday and Sunday we only come out for ten minutes; that's ludicrous.

Anyway, I would go more into details but I got a lot of other things I need to take care of. But I would appreciate it if you all could send me a subscription to *The Blast!*, and I would appreciate it if you all could send me some kind of address, response network, or something so I can let other prisoners of war, political prisoners, and concerned groups outside of the wall and across the country know about my experience with kkkontrol units in Amerika.

Sincerely,
Robert D. Champ Sr. / 170679 /
Box B / St. Cloud, MN 56302



PRISONS AREN'T SOCIAL CONTROL, THEY ARE MODERN SLAVERY

Dear Joel,

I wanted to say something about your "Gardens of the Law" article (*Blast!* #3, Aug/Sept. '94). It is contradictory and I think it misses the true reason there are prisons. It seems to me that you consider prisons to be a form of social control, a way to put the fear of cops into our heads. This is a variation on the theory that prisons are a deterrent to crime. In your second paragraph you allude to the common fallacy of prisons as a deterrent. Prisons, the death penalty, stiffer penalities, more cops, etc. are *not* deterrents to crime. In fact, they may be causes of crime. If prisons truly controlled society, why is it that crime goes up and up and anti-government feeling grows?

In fact, it is the growth of crime that fuels the authorities' call for more prisons. Of course, crime is not really growing the way they want us to believe, although some crimes are being better tracked and reported, which makes it appear that it's a rise. They want us to fear crime and each other so they can tell us we need more prisons.

Why? Because the ruling class loves prisons. They are the modern versions of slavery. You pointed out that the people who populate prisons are mostly from the cultures of former slaves. Well, slavery is not gone. It's not really about skin color so much as culture, either. After all, plenty of African-descent persons have achieved honorary whiteness—like Clarence Thomas. Prisons exist to enslave those people who are not part of white culture, whether by choice or by birth. Prisons exist to provide cheap labor in prison and a branded "criminal" group outside of prison with very limited job opportunities—basically shit jobs that are hard to distinguish from slave work.

I hate to say it, but your analysis is off. Prisons are not about social control. Social control is already achieved through religion, advertising, peer pressuer, and economic dependence on payday. When those things fail, prison is not a backup plan, it is where they put you so that you have no choice but to continue on as a slave.

The control units (supermax) deal is also not really to cause people to "choose" to obey. Positive reinforcement techniques work much better, and authority knows it. Control units are one of patriarchy's repressed sexual outlets. They get off on inflicting torture. They feel cool when they can humiliate proud slaves. The degradation is not a means to an end—the degradation is the end. The authorities could care less about scaring us into obeying. We are already controlled. Regular prisons exist to provide cheap slave labor. Supermax prisons exist as a legitimized way for the authorities to torture their enemies.

You are correct. We must break the prison/crime connection. The real crimes are abuse of power, tax theft, physical pollution abuse, psychological terrorism, and dishonesty. The authorities are guilty, yet they run prison and they run the world. We must defy them at every turn but we must remain true to humanity. Thanks to you and the whole *Blast!* collective for being a part of the defiance.

Keep up the good work,
Michael / *No Apology*
PO Box 14308 / Minneapolis, MN 55414

CORRECTIONS for *Blast!* #3

In the review of CROSSROAD, we stated, "*Crossroad* is important reading for all activists who are eager to movement build and strategize . It is especially important for those interested in gaining exposure to the politics of the New African *(sic)* People's Organization (NAPO)." Since publishing this issue we learned that The New Afrikan People's Organization has no organizational ties to Spear and Shield Publications or CROSSROAD. They are separate formations within the New Afrikan Independence Movement. We apologize for this error.

In the local news article "Minneapolis Dyke March Does It Again!" the Lesbian Avenger contact number and author of the article was cut off at the end. The number is 491-4039 and the author was Polly Pagenhart.

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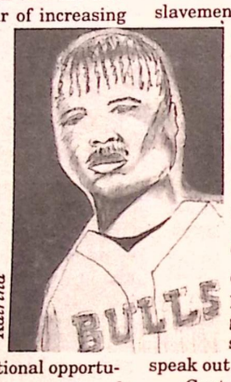
The Crime Bill and Social Control

by Justine Abinni

Crime rates are down and the new Crime Bill, riding on fear of increasing crime, is in. The Crime Bill, which became law this August, gives more money to punishment and to prevention efforts. The result is a more sophisticated and federalized framework for social control in the guise of community safety. Even some Congress members have opposed the Bill for being too harsh, and for having no analysis of such causes of crime as poverty and lacking educational opportunities. Attempts to remedy even some of the most obvious injustices contained in the Bill were shot down. For example, The *Racial Justice Act, proposed by the Congressional Black Caucus was rejected. The Act would have allowed death row prisoners the right to use statistical evidence to prove that racial bias is a factor in determining* who receives the death penalty in order to appeal their sentences.



Katrina

Since the November 9 elections Republicans have been talking about proposing a new crime bill that would allot no money to social programs; all funds would go toward harsher punishment measures.

The current Crime Bill (now law) mandates 100,000 more cops, more prisons (including boot camp style prisons for youth), harsher mandatory minimum sentences for drug-related offenses, and prosecution of 13 year-olds charged with violent crimes as adults. It also expands the federal death penalty to cover 53 new offenses, establishes new drug courts, mandates life imprisonment for people convicted of three violent felonies or drug offenses, and bans the manufacture of 19 military-style assault weapons.

Republican and rightist Democrats succeeded in stripping billions of dollars from already minimal job training provisions, central-city community grants, and other social programs. Meanwhile the media has played misleading attention to the small percentage of the Crime Bill that includes provisions for crime prevention and social programs. For example, while the Bill does offer some money to schools it is not for improving academic programs or extracurricular activities, but instead to fund metal detectors, video surveillance cameras, and anti-drug efforts.

The Crime Bill promotes a colonialist agenda that functions to keep ruling class economic and social control over historically oppressed nationalities. U.S. settler colonialism, the decimation and forced relocation of Indigenous peoples, and the enslavement of Africans have laid the foundation for highly repressive crime legislation like this Bill.

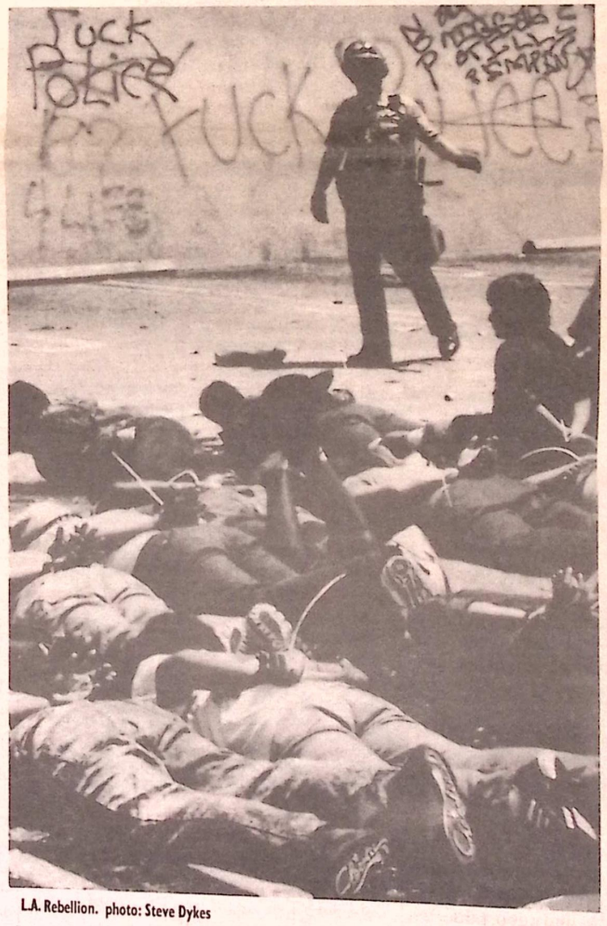
The Crime Bill creates definitions of what "crime" is and who "violent criminals" are as it creates legislation to further a colonialist agenda. The Crime Bill feeds into the public hysteria over crime and creates more public hysteria in the process. There's nothing worse than a society full of paranoid white people but that's what we're gonna have, and that's why it's so important for white people to speak out in the wake of its passage.

Contrary to popular opinion, studies show that crime and drug use are high among the upper-middle class and the rich. A recent study showed that the amount of money embezzled from banks was *6,000 times the amount of money robbed from banks. Essentially, the Crime Bill is written* to scapegoat a certain sector of the society as the source of social decay. The Crime Bill fails to address the injustices perpetuated under capitalism and never addresses the root causes of crime.

HISTORY OF CRIME BILL LEGISLATION

Social control and state power do not begin and end with this new legislation. The Crime Bill is part of a history of increased federal involvement in local and state crime control efforts. In 1968, under Lyndon Johnson, Congress passed the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. With a budget of $7.5 billion, it established the Law Enforcement Assistance Act to make grants to State and local governments for recruiting and training special law enforcement personnel, to fight organized crime, and for a law enforcement reserve to detect riots and other "civil disorders." These programs phased out after 12 years, but the idea of federal aid to local law enforcement resurfaced in the early 1980's as the government began launching what they called "The Drug War."

Under Reagan and Bush, four crime control bills passed into law. The Crime Control Act of 1984 overhauled the Federal sentencing system, revised bail statutes to permit pretrial imprisonment of those considered dangerous to the community (ie. you're assumed guilty until proven innocent), tightened the legal definition of insanity, required mandatory minimum sentences for career criminals, increased the maximum fines for drug offences, and gave Federal prosecutors the authority to seize the assets of drug traffickers. Controversial provisions relating to the death penalty were dropped. The Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988 stiffened penalties for violations of the Controlled Substances Act, regulated more mandatory minimum sentencing, increased federal funding for drug enforcement, extended the death penalty to drug-related killings of police, and created a new agency on the executive level headed by a "drug czar." The Crime Control Act of 1990 assisted states in establishing more prison programs, including alternatives to traditional incarceration, and authorized the hiring of additional FBI and DEA agents. Again, provisions pertaining to the federal death penalty were rejected.



L.A. Rebellion. photo: Steve Dykes

Not only does the Crime Bill evolve out of a history of anti-crime legislation and culminate in the most repressive measures ever, it also federalizes some oppressive measures that have already been in place in certain states.

Recent legislation on the state level has set precedents for the new federal Crime Bill. For example, the notorious "Three Strikes and You're Out" provision of the federal Crime Bill was proceeded by state laws in several places. In Washington state, the Persistent Offender Accountability Act, better known as "Three Strikes and You're Out," passed in November of 1993. This provision mandates life imprisonment without parole for those convicted of a serious offence for the third time. California and New Mexico have passed similar ordinances and 30 other states are considering "three strikes" legislation. Some legislators have even called for "Two Strikes You're Out" and even "Three Strikes and You're Dead." *Seventeen* states already dole out harsh legislation for repeat offenders in the form of habitual offender laws. The ACLU argues that none of these laws have had much impact on crime. In fact in Florida, since it's habitual offenders law was implemented, crime has increased by 16%.

We must remember in waging struggle against the Crime Bill that, although the Crime Bill will heighten already-existing injustices within the criminal sanction system, it is just another manifestation of the colonialism the U.S. government has perpetrated against oppressed nationalities within its own borders for 500 years. As Shaka Shakur wrote in *The Blast!* #2, "De KKKrime Bill applies to New Afrikans

not because of racism but because of New Afrikan kolonial relationships to imperialism, because we exist as a colony dominated by U.S. imperialism. De state is merely legitimizing a lot of de policies dat have always been a reality for de New Afrikan. People talk about fascism. What fascism?! Fascism has always been a reality for de New Afrikan Nation/People from de first slave ship to de implementing of de fugitive slave act and Black Codes til now."

BOOT CAMPS AND BLACK YOUTH

The fact is, the Crime Bill criminalizes only certain sectors of this society, in particular Black and Latino youth. It is no coincidence that this section of society is potentially the most volatile and rebellious.

Drug- running politicians such as Oliver North are not part of the sector of society defined as criminal by legislation such as this. There is no logic to the new Crime Bill, only a colonialist agenda that replaces an era of token civil rights and "equal opportunity" with an era of overtly racist legislation.

Boot camps use military-style training as the backdrop for punishment and harassment. The first boot camps were opened in the 1980's. There are already 50 camps located in 30 states. The Crime Bill mandates the construction of more boot camps for youth offenders. Critics, including the former corrections commissioner who invented the concept of boot camps, have come to regard many of the camps as racist and abusive. On top of this, recent studies have shown that as many as half of the recruits are dismissed or drop out and end up back in regular jails.

So what then is the point in mandating *Boot Camps as a tactic to deter "crime"? Because, under the guise of "fighting* crime," the state does things to further colonize the people it fears will rebel. *Boot camps* serve as a training camp for the next generation of minimum wage slaves and soldiers. The Youth Leadership Job Book, a training manual that residents at this N.Y. camp must carry with them at all times reads: "Learn the role of a restaurant buser. Identify steps and materials used in cleaning floors. Demonstrate the ability to shine leather boots to standard. Perform facing movements correctly to include right and left face, about face, parade rest, and attention. Operate the kitchen dishwasher."

MILITARIZED ZONES: THE INNER CITIES AND PRISONS

We live in a society rampant with social inequality. Instead of abolishing this inequality the ruling class attempts to "manage" it. Certain areas of the city are therefore occupied by the police. These are areas in which the colors you are wearing and especially the color of your skin trigger a particular police response.

Publicly subsidized housing projects are fenced in and are monitored by off-duty police. Within these projects, armed guards buzz people in and out of buildings upon showing resident ID's. The Cabrini Greens housing project in Chicago is equipped with an on-sight detention center, and housing police randomly strip search youth even in the freezing cold.

Weed and Seed programs are another aspect of the militarization of the inner city. Weed and Seed gives the U.S. Justice Department jurisdiction over social service spending. Certain "enterprise zones" (what WE call neighborhoods) are targeted for these programs. One result is intensified law enforcement in these "zones." In Seattle, where Weed and Seed is in effect, social service project proposals that lack police involvement are denied funding. This indicates that Weed and Seed has no intention of seeding new programs, only weeding out "criminals." In Seattle, a Spanish translation program was rejected funding while a program called the "FAST track (Federal Alternatives to State Trial) prosecution system, which allows for streamlined prosecutions and lengthy minimum federal sentences for first-time offenders, was granted funding!

UCSC student Damita Brown is Arrested at Soledad Prison Demonstration by CHP officers. Photo: Bill Lovejoy/Santa Cruz Sentinel

Hysteria over "Black" gang activity has allowed "white" gangs, commonly known as law enforcement officers, to terrorize the inner city population even further, from traffic stops, to tagging, to police raids. Most traffic stops of African-Americans lead to car searches and sometimes arrests while many whites are merely given warnings. "Tagging" is the practice of picking up all Black men at least once and entering their names into police records, out of which police compile bogus lists of "active gang members," giving themselves license to harass. In one neighborhood in Minneapolis, the neighborhood association, in conjunction with the precinct police and city council members, initiated what they called a "Hot Spots" campaign. Postcards were distributed throughout the neighborhood which asked people to identify "trouble spots": crack houses, prostitution, loud music, or messy lawns. These postcards gave police lists of addresses to monitor.

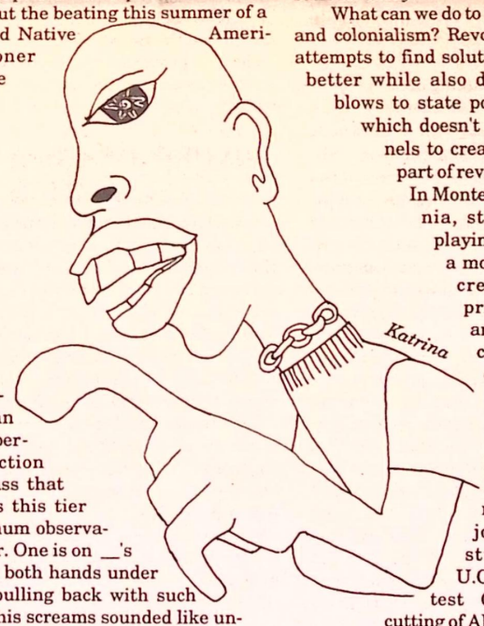
Needless to say, house raids are common in this same community. On one Saturday night I recently witnessed a raid on a house party of fifteen people. The entire party was arrested, some individuals were pushed around, furniture was slashed, and apartment glass doors were broken. I talked with other people who lived in the building after the arrests who said they didn't even know a party was going on before it was busted.

For some people, the next step after living in the urban ghetto is the state penitentiary. Black men, who total about 6% of the U.S. population, make up 44% of the prison population. With one million people already in prison, the inmate population is climbing at a rate of 900 new prisoners a week—and this is before the new Crime Bill turned into law. The result is that the U.S. has higher imprisonment rates than in any country in the world at any time in history. Spending on prison construction is increasing twice as fast as the growth in overall state spending.

Prisons are becoming one of the fastest-growing industries in the country. Prisons create jobs for poor and working class whites who live in economically depressed rural areas. Meanwhile, those hardest hit by a nation in economic crisis are oppressed nationalities who are most likely to be incarcerated under this system (African American, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Native American working people). Ironically, the policy has been to build more jails instead of providing jobs in certain sectors. In 1992, it cost $21 billion to operate federal and state prisons, $4.7 billion for juvenile "facilities," and $7.7 billion for local jails. That's 50% more than the total cost of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. On top of all this craziness, prisoners are used as cheap labor by both state and private enterprises. "Prison Blues" is a line of clothing manufactured by prison labor and sold in Far Eastern Countries.

Inside prisons, some of the worst violations of human rights occur. The use of pepper gas, confinement in "stand up" holding cells, set-up fights, lockdown (no yard, no law library, limited showers, no canteen and delays in medical care), deprivation of cell cleaning materials, denial of medical care, and prison guard on prisoner violence are common practices.

This one among many stories, told by an African-American prisoner incarcerated in Minnesota, illustrates the routine brutality of prisons. This prisoner/witness wrote about the beating this summer of a Latino and Native American prisoner who made the mistake of reminding a prison guard that he had not been allowed out for exercise. "I can see their perfect reflection in the glass that surrounds this tier for maximum observation power. One is on __'s back with both hands under his chin pulling back with such fury that his screams sounded like underwater garbling screams; another kicked his ribs and thighs, two others twisted his bottom limbs in unnatural positions, not breaking, but just enough to cause internal nerve and muscle damage and bleeding. Then as other inmates scream for them to stop, the room lights go out and all we heard were punching and kicking sounds accompanied by a guard screaming 'Stop resisting!' over and over."



More African Americans are railroaded into prisons than any other social group. Many are imprisoned because of drug-related offenses. With the Crime Bill's focus on "gang" and "drug"-related crime and with the formation of new federally funded drug courts, a segregated legal system is becoming more institutionalized. With a two-tiered legal system, racial bias in the courts will become less obvious because there will be a two-court system with different standards for prosecution, different assumptions about people because of the color of their skin, and different sentencing procedures. In a similar way, there will be two different police forces, one to criminalize certain neighborhoods and one to protect others. While cops serve in white middle/upper class neighborhoods to protect private property, in poor and working class Black, Latino, and Native American communities they serve to instigate violence.

REFORMISM vs REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

Just because the Crime Bill has passed doesn't mean it's a done deal. There is already opposition to the new Crime Bill, with different ideas about strategy emerging. Of course, there is always the liberal tendency towards reform: reform the police, reform the courts, improve and expand drug treatment centers, elect a third-party candidate, elect a socialist government. Reform has brought about periodic relief from an oppressive society at different times in history, but it has never brought about the real change necessary to create a free society. Very often reform has sapped the movements energies and forced people to turn a cheek to continued societal decay.

What can we do to fight the Crime Bill and colonialism? Revolutionary strategy attempts to find solutions that make life better while also dealing significant blows to state power. Direct action which doesn't rely on state channels to create change can be a part of revolutionary struggle. In Monterey County, California, student activism is playing a role in building a movement against increased money for prison construction, and fee-hikes in education coupled with decreased spending on universities. This year students from the Frank Little Club at Diablo Valley Community College joined forces with students at U.C.Santa Cruz to protest Gov. Pete Wilson's cutting of AFDC, anti-immigration campaigning, adoption of "Three Strikes, You're Out", and increased state funding for prisons. The students organized direct action outside the gates of Soledad Prison where a $236 million dollar addition is in the works. 55 militant students used their bodies to stop construction traffic, which as a result needed to be rerouted.

In L.A., The Coalition Against Police

continued on page 23

U.K. CRIME LEGISLATION

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND PUBLIC ORDER BILL

Implications and Realities

by Ted

At the time of writing (mid-October 1994), the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill (more widely referred to as the Criminal Justice Bill or simply "CJB") received its fourth and final reading in the House of Commons (the law-making body of the British parliament). In November it receives royal approval.

Since the ascension of the Conservative party to power in England some fifteen years ago, their program of late-capitalist restructuring has gone hand-in-hand with annual moral panics about the breakup of the nuclear family. I can't remember a time when there wasn't a new crisis emerging with each parliamentary sitting. In the past there were "scares" such as rural riots and lager louts, and in more recent times we have seen youth crime (by this I mean pre-teens), single-parent families, and general moral decline.

One of the central electoral themes that swept the Conservative party to power way back in 1979 was that it is THE PARTY OF LAW AND ORDER. It is this claim that is the justification for the near-totalitarian measures of the CJB. There is, however, a clear hidden agenda at work. The main groups targeted by the CJB are squatters, travellers (traditional or otherwise), animal rights activists, direct-action road protesters (such as the NO M11 LINK CAMPAIGN in east London), and free-party-goers. *It targets any form of protest, at police discretion, and it immensely* increases police powers to stop and search people. It also means the virtual abolition of the right to silence upon arrest.

Under the CJB, squatters will now be subject to Ex Parte eviction orders. What this means is that rather than informing you of any impending court case involving an eviction notice, you aren't even invited to the damn thing but instead will be informed of the court's decision afterward. You then have 24 hours to leave the premises or face six months imprisonment and/or a £5000 fine (about $7500). Squatters have the right to appeal, but it's not much use when you're living on the streets. This is coupled with the new "violent entry" clause 71, which gives property owners (or anyone authorized by them) the power to use violence to force entry into a property regardless of whether or not it is occupied at the time *[Up until now, this practice was illegal in England. —ed].*

Travellers who fail to leave land when asked face three months' imprisonment and/or a £1000 (about $1500) fine. The police will have the power to remove from the land any gathering of more than six vehicles, to impound the vehicles (even if it is someone's home) and to demand a fee for their release. Under the Caravan Sites Act of 1968 local authorities had a statutory duty to provide caravan sites for travellers; this is to be repealed, with any funding for such sites abolished.

Section 47(2c) of the CJB makes it a criminal offense to attend a gathering or "rave." Section 47(2b) makes it an offense to wait for one and section 47(2a) to make preparations to hold one. Under section 47(1) of the bill, a "rave" is defined as a gathering of "one hundred or more persons (whether they're invited or trespassers) at which amplified music is played during the night." Music is defined to include that which is "wholly or predominantly characterized by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats." Failure to leave immediately and not return for seven days will be punishable by a £2500 (about $3800) fine.

Anti-CJB protesters flea as pigs try to boogie.

These sections also greatly affect road protestors and hunt saboteurs as well as other forms of (currently legal) political action. Furthermore, if a chief police officer believes that an organized, peaceful protest may cause "serious disruption to the community" or is on "land of historical, architectural, archaeological, or scientific importance," he may apply for an injunction to have it banned. If you continue to organize further despite the ban you could face three months in jail and/or a £2500 fine. Simple attendance to any protest on a banned area could land (oops!) you with a £1000 fine, and if a cop simply thinks you're on your way there, he can stop you. An "assembly" in this case means a gathering of "twenty persons or more" according to the CJB.

The right to silence, something long entrenched in the human rights of Western "democracies" will be effectively abolished; you will still technically have the right to remain silent, but that right, if and when exercised, can now be construed by a court as a virtual admission of guilt, or at least of culpability.

Well, what do you think of all that then? Sounds like boot camps for deviants, activists, and the homeless to me.

The first national mass mobilization against the CJB took place in central London one Sunday as summer spontaneously broke out in the city. Spread almost completely by word of mouth, the demonstration drew some 20,000 marchers and took the form of a virtual street carnival with revellers taking over Trafalgar Square as the cops look on, astonished. There was no trouble to speak of (whether that's a good or a bad thing I'm not really sure) but it's interesting to note that up until this point, at least, the Police Federation (the cops' umbrella organization for want of a union!) has been against the CJB as something that actually goes too far because it is something that they couldn't possibly police "properly."

The rally was organized by the Freedom Network, an anti-CJB group based at Cooltan arts center, a squatted ex-welfare office in Brixton, southeast London. In the aftermath of this inspiring success, the Coalition Against the CJB was set up, an amalgamation of individuals, civil rights and protest groups, and community associations. It organized a second march on July 24th which also finished up at Trafalgar Square. (This was the rally reported in the international news section of *The Blast!* #3.) During the rally, a few protestors attempted to scale the gates of 10 Downing Street, the Prime Minister's official residence. Although there was never anything approaching a "riot" (whatever you may have heard!), the cops were out in force, dressed to kill, and clearly ready and very much eager for one. It didn't happen.

As the calendar rolled ever onward toward the passing of the bill into law, there were more and more smaller demonstrations up and down the country, including one at the ruling party's convention in tiny Bournemouth, England. At this demonstration, there were two lines of riot cops in full battle dress to protect the boss class from some 150 beach-strolling miscreants, some brandishing balloons!

On Sunday, October 9 came the big demonstration. This time Trafalgar Square itself was blocked off as the procession danced its way en route from the Thames River to Hyde Park, in the heart of the West End's shopping district in London. People were sitting around, listening to speakers when out came the riot cops in force, swinging their batons against their asses and attempting to look macho. They were apparently protecting Park Lane from the proletariat (the street is home to some of the most sumptuous hotels in the world). Then into Hyde Park came the mounties, chasing people around and charging up and down. Viewed from a short distance, the whole thing almost took on the air of pantomime.

The real crux came when the cops, for reasons best known to themselves or some higher authority or perhaps nobody at all, suddenly refused to let people back into their coaches (to go home, of all things!). Understandably some angry vitriol, fighting, and running battles with the cops ensued. As arrests, injured cops, and darkness fell, the disturbances spilled over into Oxford Street, London's primary shopping area for the tourists. There was much trashing of stores and looting to boot. (Whether Jon and Ted selling copies of *The Blast!* around speaker's corner earlier that afternoon contributed to this in any way is open to speculation!)

But it wasn't over! As I write, yesterday evening (October 19th) saw a protest of the parliament end in further pitched battles with the cops who had, in their finite wisdom, allowed the march to pass a full glass bottle recycling station: this was duly raided for more ammunition to complement the firecrackers already present.

So where next? Nobody playing with a full deck sees the CJB not becoming law now. There has not a been a word said against it from the cynical, opportunist and careerist Blair and his opposition Labor Party, so the way forward can only lie with a campaign of mass civil disobedience. People are already taking names for such a campaign. Personally, I'm a little wary of such lists but rest assured I'll be there; as if any of us will now have a choice! The gloves are off.

Children of the Poor:

RENDERED DECEASED

by the amerikkkan ruling class

by Burn One

The results of the '94 elections didn't necessarily tell us anything we didn't already know. We already knew that this great nation of theirs has been waging war on nearly everyone since 1492: it has committed and is committing genocide, it capitalizes on colonialism and slavery, it maintains Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War within its borders, it maintained—and perhaps maintains—concentration (internment) camps within its borders, it supported death squads inside and outside of its borders, and so on. I had to remind myself several times this week that it is no real shock that the ruling class has decided it wants to starve or incarcerate millions of children that are currently receiving AFDC (Aid for Families with Dependent Children) in, specifically, Newt Gingrich's proposal for "welfare (termination) reform." Gingrich, the newly appointed Speaker of the House, is proposing cuts of $40 billion or more in food, housing and income programs that serve children, disabled persons and the elderly.

Clinton's "workfare" proposal was merely an attempt to obtain more slave labor to maintain an eternally bankrupt capitalist economy. As such, it should only be viewed as the veneer covering the underlying plan for the virtual termination of welfare. This is made more visible in Republican proposals such as Newt Gingrich's. Gingrich and others want to make it impossible for young "out of wedlock" mothers to receive any assistance whatsoever through AFDC, even if they are willing to work.

These proposals would deny all aid to single mothers under 21 or 26 (an undecided fine point), and enforce a two-year time limit on benefits for those who actually would be eligible, without providing any job training. The money saved would be used to build orphanages and halfway houses for the children of those mothers rendered destitute. Republican James M. Talent of Missouri, another proponent of the "kill the poor" plan, feels that job training programs are "wasteful and that the government should instead abolish benefits to discourage unmarried women from having children in the first place." Republican Bill Archer of Texas chimes in, "We're going to have to face the fact of illegitimacy." How entirely patriarchal of them.

These proposals can only be described as an all-out attack on the nine million children currently receiving AFDC and their families, as well as an attack on elderly persons, disabled persons, and immigrants, whom Gingrich includes in his plan for the abolition of the poor. Gingrich wants to include Supplemental Security Income (SSI) in this plan and "convert both programs from entitlement programs into discretionary programs" in which assistance would be provided on a "first come, first serve basis" instead of on a qualification basis.

What is most frightening of all, is that, despite the fact that these plans are called "proposals," all of the gears are already rolling in the machine that plans to implement them. For example, California's proposition 187, anti-immigrant legislation denying education, and housing or food aid to all illegal immigrants, passed in the last election. Prop 187 will be enforced by requiring that every-

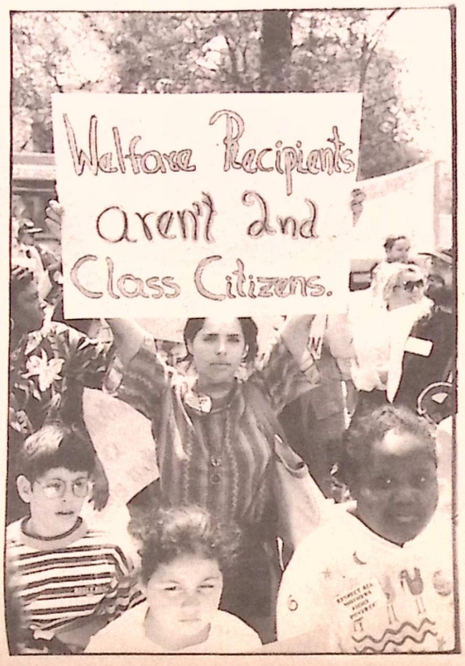


photo: Marilyn Humphries/Impact Visuals

Mother's March May 9, 1994 to protest Gov. Weld of Massachusetts proposed welfare "reform"

one carry a magnetized ID card. Legislation like this will continue to be implemented all throughout amerikkka, and certainly here within the welfare system in minnesota, making the phrase, "Todos somos ilegales!" (we are all illegal) eminently clear.

As of November first, welfare recipients in Minnesota will no longer see food stamps or checks. Minnesota has just joined other states in changing "the system" over to EBS (Electronic Benefits System) cards. Welfare recipients are being told that this is being done as a "convenience" for them. The state's placating rhetoric cites reasons such as the elimination of problems with lost, stolen, or late checks and food stamps due to theft or postal overload. We basically all know that this is just another rhetorical line of bullshit underneath an even larger pile.

The most obvious intention of the "change" in the welfare system is the extermination of the poor for the benefit of the ruling class. In spite of the fact that poverty itself "sees no color," the welfare system is primarily a tool of a neocolonial war on poor people of color being carried out by a capitalist, white supremacist society.

Virtually by definition, the welfare system was created to maintain the "unemployed" and "unemployable" as consumers in a consumer society. It was also created to specifically avoid any confrontation with the capitalist system, which maintains a hierarchy that is designed to enable a select portion of society (i.e., *the ruling class*) to profit from the poverty of the remainder. Meanwhile, the poor are entrenched in a system that is not, was not, and will never be designed to aid people—as the "A", in AFDC might imply.

The EBS card works virtually the same as a cash machine card with a few major differences. Over the past few months, the state has been installing machines in grocery stores listed by welfare recipients as places they shop for groceries. This does not, however, mean that all the stores listed by welfare receivers obtained the new system. The state paid for the installation of the machines and the employee training needed to operate it, but individual store owners could still decide not to obtain the system.

This means that welfare recipients will have even fewer options of where to spend the credit dollar amount that they are allotted for food. The choices were already limited. It seems to me that the state may have neglected to openly discuss the possibility of a rising infant mortality rate due to the limited choices given to poor moms wanting to purchase food for their hungry children, and the increasing mortality rate of elderly and disabled persons who may now have to travel some distance to obtain food because the local corner store didn't obtain the system. These factors are compounded by what we all know is a virtually unbearable Minnesota winter, with temperatures dipping as low as twenty to sixty degrees below zero.

The change-over to the magnetized picture ID/EBS card has multiple implications and, in reality, only controlling uses for the state, as opposed to "convenience" uses for the poor. Now, if you happen to be a Congressman pulling in a hefty salary that you've given yourself every year, this plan sounds perfect to you, especially since it will maintain the slave labor work force you need to pay your salary. If you happen to be, however, a single, AFDC mom livin' in the ghetto without a car, good luck gettin' any bus change to take your child to the doctor during the later two weeks of the month when all the cash credit on your card has been used up for rent and whatnot. (We all know damn well that $437.00 a month ain't enough for one person much less two). And try not to worry too much about whether they're going to suddenly render you destitute and confiscate your loved ones. Another thing that the state has done along with Uncle Scam to ensure that not too many people would object to the further enslavement and/or extermination of the poor is to media-hype that age-old, racist, classist, misogynist stereotype of "the welfare mother who sells food stamps for drugs and alcohol" and/or "has more children just to cash-in on that extra hundred dollars a month per child." The most I have to say is—b.phoreal.

Newt Gingrich;
rendered destitute;
unable to care for his family,
due to his overwhelming greed,
and his aspirations to fascism.

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CRIME AND TAXES

The Descent into Whiteness

by joel

Newt Gingrich is a fascist pig. Bob Dole is a reactionary lackey of the capitalist running dogs. Bill Clinton is a sellout fucker who didn't promise shit anyway. Both parties are about as different as two sacks of burning horseshit.

Now that we've got that off our chests, we should rationally ask ourselves: what does it mean that the Republicans won big in November? Does it mean that life is going to get worse? For people living on the margins of American society, yes. We can expect welfare to be gutted; more of our friends and family to go to prison; jobs to become more scarce, more boring, and less paying; and to see many rights we have eroded and outright abused.

Does it mean the U.S. is heading toward fascism? Probably not. The policies the Republicans promise to follow will be more or less the same ones Reagan and Bush followed for twelve years and that Clinton, by and large, has followed, too.

Does it mean that those of us who didn't bother to get out of bed to vote are to blame because we didn't vote for the Democrats, our saviors from totalitarianism (or at least the lesser of two evils)? Absolutely not.

For the first time since World War II, the white middle and working classes have to accept the fact that they won't be able to live as well as their parents. They panic at the thought of losing the privileges of whiteness: quiet suburban neighborhoods, first crack at the best jobs, and the best schools. Therefore, white folks are acting like cats backed into a corner, but they're not slashing out at the rich but—as usual—poor people of color. As the two clarion calls of the 1994 elections prove—Less taxes! Fight crime!—white folks are getting meaner in the defense of their privileges. As times get tougher, whites no longer feel they can be "generous" to poor African Americans and Latinos by tolerating programs like affirmative action and welfare. Therefore, whites are demanding the end of these programs while denying that they are racist. The significance of the elections is that in 1994, at least, Republicans succeeded at promising to preserve the privileges of the white skin better than Democrats.

Demopublicans

Not that Clinton and the Democrats didn't try their darndest. The debate between Democrats and Republicans was not over the importance of taxes and crime but who could cut taxes the deepest and who could fight crime the toughest. With their reputation for supporting social programs and their entrenched position in Congress, Democrats were seen as not being able to preserve the privileges of the white skin any longer, and so they lost, big time. Throw out the rascals and send in the clowns.

Clearly, the vote for less crime and lower taxes was an overwhelmingly white mandate. The *New York Times* reports that 79 percent of the voters for the U.S. House of Representatives were white. Fifty-eight percent of white voters voted Republican, compared with twelve percent of Black voters and thirty percent of Latino voters. The *Times also reported that the majority of Republican support* came from white males living in the suburbs.

This might seem unusual; after all, who in their right mind likes taxes or crime (besides politicians)? However, it's not so strange when you look at who stands to lose the most when capitalism lurches and sputters: the suburban, mostly white middle class. Poor people of color, especially African Americans, don't have any "good old days" of America to look back to like the white middle class does because they never had any privileges to lose in the first place. Therefore, poor people of color tend to be more suspicious of the cries "Less taxes! Fight crime!" because they know they will suffer the most from such measures.

The anger of the white electorate isn't anything new, of course. It's a repeat of the same anger that threw Bush out in 1992, less than a year after the Gulf War gave him an unprecedented 90% approval rating in polls. Voters' anger could easily be thrown back in the faces of either Republicans or Clinton in 1996, depending on whose TV ads are most successful at blaming the other party for the country's problems. As one pollster said, "In '92 voters punished a lot of Republicans. In '94 they punished a lot of Democrats." What she didn't mention is that it is mostly white voters who are doing the punishing. Al From of the Democratic Leadership Council admitted, "We got clobbered among white men." Anyone wanna guess who the Democrats will be wooing come '96?

Less Taxes!

The "anti-government" spirit of white folks who demand that their representatives "get government off my back" doesn't mean they want to smash the state. After all, they're the first to call for farm subsidies and more cops, and just try to cut their kids' school budget. What white America means when it demands no new taxes is this: we don't want to share our goodies with the poor, especially those who aren't white, so don't make us.

Therefore, "less taxes!" means, for Republicans and Democrats alike, cutting social programs that supposedly take money from those who work and give it to those who won't. Because they see their own opportunities dwindling, white voters think they see a cheat on every inner-city block, swindling all sorts of benefits from the state like welfare, affirmative action, subsidized housing, and food stamps. As one Republican politician said, "It's time the 40 million people on welfare got off the wagon and pulled it like the rest of us." (Never mind that the only thing this millionaire has ever pulled in his life is a muscle playing golf.) What the cry for less taxes boils down to is a full-scale assault on the poor by the white middle class.

For example, take the "personal responsibility act" in the Republican's "Contract for America" (a document, signed by over 300 Republican candidates for Congress, that calls for Congress to fight crime, cut taxes, and increase military spending). It promises to discourage "illegitimacy" and teen pregnancy by denying welfare benefits to mothers who are under 21. (Senator Talent of Missouri is proposing to eliminate welfare to mothers under 26!) It also promises to deny increased benefits to moms who have kids while on welfare. However, two points later in the Contract, the "American Dream Restoration Act" promises a $500-per child tax *credit* to provide "middle class tax relief."

This, of course, is an outright attempt at population control of the poor. Poor people will be penalized for having children, while middle class folks will be given incentives to have more kids. Of course, most of the middle class in America is white, and the poor are disproportionately Black, so the Contract essentially calls for more white kids to be born and less Black kids. In fact, the Contract would create state-run orphanages for kids whose moms have been forced to abandon them due to poverty. The money to pay for these orphanages will come from money that would have been spent on welfare benefits. Basically, the Republican strategy is to take poor Black kids from their mothers, lock them up in orphanages, and then move them to prisons at 18, after they fuck up once or twice. Can you say genocide?

The cry for less taxes is also aimed at those who aren't "real Americans," immigrants. Initiatives like Proposition 187 in California (a law that will cut off most services like health care, welfare and education to illegal aliens) were heavily supported by white voters. Politicians like Governor Pete Wilson of California support anti-immigrant laws but deny that they are racist. It's not racism, they claim, it's just too expensive to provide services for people who aren't "paying their share."

The funny thing is that defense spending and prison construction budgets, which combined take up a far greater proportion of the national budget than social services, are never part of the demand to cut spending. Why? Because everyone has suddenly gone conservative? The answer is simpler: because most voting Americans are white. Whatever it takes to maintain their privileges, whether it's voting Republican, cutting welfare, or locking up young Black men, the white electorate will do.

Fight Crime!

Ironically, at the same time white voters are clamoring for government to "get off their backs," they are also demanding the state "get tough on crime" by putting more cops on the street and more "criminals" behind bars.

The Republicans promise a new crime bill because the Democrats' bill, as harsh as it is (see "The Crime Bill and Social Control," page 10), has too much money alotted for "social programs" and is "too soft" on crime and criminals. "We passed a $30 billion

The Republicans have t

CONT

1. The Fiscal Redistribution Act

All humans, especially the poor, deserve economic equality. This requires the destruction of the ruling class. Therefore, all rich people will have their wealth and property stripped from them, to be redistributed to the rest of humanity starting with the poorest. Former rich people will be given seedy studio apartments with tacky wood paneling and jobs as parking lot attendants or in Taco Bell drive-thrus.

2. The Classless Society Act

Because the "free market" really means wage slavery for the majority and superprofits for the tiny minority and because the state defends the interests of capitalists, capitalism and the state will be abolished and replaced with a free society based on human creativity, equality, mutual aid, and the free exchange of goods and services. Money will also be abolished. Everyone will be able to choose their work according to the needs of their community and have an equal voice in the decisions that affect their work and community.

When not working in parking lots or fast-food drive-thrus, ex-members of the ruling class will be made to write "I am no longer able to ruthlessly exploit people and crush their humanity" one time for every penny they once possessed in their personal fortune.

eir "Contract with America," so The Blast! *proudly presents our*

TRACT OUT ON AMERICA

3. The Take Back the Streets from Cops Act

We need to take the streets back from the *cops* more than we do the "criminals." Therefore, all cops and prison guards are to be immediately fired and reassigned to dismantling prisons brick by brick, bar by bar, using only nail files and rubbing alcohol. The police will be replaced by elected neighborhood militias who will spend most of their time taking from the rich, giving to the poor, and smoking big smelly cigars on park benches.

4. The Social Responsibility Act

Because a person's social status depends more on the situation she was born into than it does her "personal abilities," society will be committed to making sure all persons are born with decent and adequate housing, food, medical care, education, stylin' wardrobes, and sex toys. Working will be absolutely NOT required for any of these things. In fact, work as we know it may have to be discouraged or even abolished.

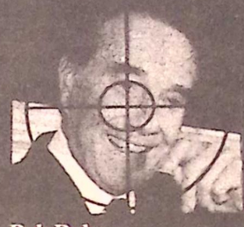
5. The American Dream Destruction Act

Any and all acts of white privilege must be sought out and abolished. Therefore, anything having to do with the middle class or the suburbs must be destroyed. This includes the nuclear family, white picket fences, cul-de-sacs, "alternative rock" and shopping malls. Many suburbs will be vacated to store toxic wastes presently buried on Native reservations.

Bill Clinton, President

Al Gore, Vice-President

Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House



Bob Dole, Senate Majority Leader

Jesse Helms, Senator

Oliver North, general scumbag

Orrin Hatch, Senator

Rod Grams, Minnesota Senator

6. The Abolish American Imperialism Act

America as a nation will be declared null and void. All people currently under the thumb of America's military and/or economic power will be free to democratically determine their own future. Wealth from the former United States will be redistributed to the world's poor as they request. All former American diplomats, corporate bosses, and politicians will be forced to apologize for their heinous acts and the atrocities of their predecessors. They will be given jobs crushing Coke cans and smelting them into ball peen hammers in the countries they once dominated.

The benefits of this Act also apply to those peoples colonized within the territories presently known as the United States, including Native Americans, Latinos, African Americans, Asian Americans, and others.

—We pledge to struggle for these six demands during the first 100 days of a social revolution in the U.S. Together we can do it, America.

social program and called it a crime bill," said arch conservative Senator Phil Gramm. "We're going to pass a very tough crime bill." The Republican's bill will likely eliminate the $5 billion alotted for social programs in the Democrats' bill, but it won't touch the $8 billion set aside to hire 100,000 more cops, which was, you might remember, one of Clinton's campaign promises.

As tough as they talk, the Republicans don't promise a change so much as they do more of the same, with a slightly sharper edge. The Democrat-passed crime bill will already put hundreds of thousands more people in prison (mostly Black and Latino); the Republicans just don't think the Democrats are going far enough. It seems like many white voters agree.

Whites and their parties are using demands to "get tough on crime" as a form of social control. As argued before in this paper (see "Gardens of the Law," *Blast!* #3), capitalism requires a population that is politically obedient enough to go to work every day to make profits for the rich. By creating a "criminal class" to blame our social problems on and by building lots of prisons to hold them in, the powers that be achieve social control: the "social delinquents" are locked up and the rest of the population is made obedient.

According to the white middle class and their cops, African Americans are the United States's "criminal class." Therefore, calls to "fight crime" and "take back our streets" actually mean—without ever having to say it—that white folks are scared of Black folks, and so the government should throw 'em in prison. This is why there are seven times as many Black men in U.S. prisons as there are white men, not because Black folks are "criminals." This is why the recent elections were about which party could defend the privileges of whiteness best. This is why the Republicans won. Aren't you glad you didn't vote?

The twofold nature of racism

The claim that the elections were about preserving the privileges of the white skin may be hard to swallow for some. After all, not one candidate would ever admit to being racist and hey, weren't a couple Black Republicans elected, too? Further, crime and taxes are genuinely serious issues, especially for poor folks.

Nevertheless, the demands for less taxes and getting tough on crime cannot be separated from issues of white privilege. This is because racism is structural in America: it's built into the system. White folks can be racist without having a prejudiced bone in their bodies because they accept the privileges this society grants them for being loyal members of the "club" called the white race: better schools, first crack at the good jobs, nicer treatment from the cops, etc. A few whites caught up in the prison system does not mean the system is not racist. Cutting welfare from poor whites doesn't make these cuts not racist. Saying we "can't afford" to educate or provide health care for immigrants doesn't make such proposals not racist.

White supremacy in the U.S. is due to what one writer calls the "twofold nature" of the capitalist state. The capitalist state is "twofold" because it both denies and accepts social inequality at the same time. It denies that inequality and racism exist because all persons in the U.S., regardless of gender or ethnicity, are granted voting rights and "citizenship." Therefore, we are all equals because all people at least 18 years of age are citizens. Because we are all citizens, racism can't exist and if discrimination does occur you have the power to change it by voting or writing your Congressperson.

However, the twofold nature of the state also accepts racism and social inequality. First, it makes inequalities "natural" due to individual effort ("I got to where I am today through hard work, so I deserve to be richer and more powerful than you"). Even though we're all equal as "citizens" we are not allowed to use our "equal" political power to eliminate social inequality because privileged people "earned" their wealth. Then, the myth of "equality of opportunity" says that everyone can be rich if they try; if you're poor it's your own fault because you must not be working hard enough.

The twofold nature of the state means racism rules in America, even without racists. The logic of the state goes: "Everyone is equal as a 'citizen' and anyone could be rich if she tried hard enough. Black folks and Latinos should quit complaining about their lack of social power and economic wealth, be patient, and work harder. The good life will come soon." Yeah, and so will Santa Claus.

Fight the Right? Fight the white!

The white privilege built into the system is why it makes sense for the Christian Right to vote, but not for the rest of humanity: how the hell are liberals like Bill Clinton or Minnesota's Ann Wynia going to serve the interests of Black folks? Quite simply, they can't, and as Clinton proved in his '92 campaign, some liberals don't even care about their interests. The system is designed to preserve the privileges of the white race, not humanity, which is why those who want to defend their whiteness, like the far Right, can use it so effectively.

Continued on page 22

SEX, LIES, AND DEPO PROVERA

The International Politics of Population Control

by Erin Immaculate

Every ten years since 1954, the United Nations (U.N.) has held an international conference to determine world population control policy. This year's International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) took place in Cairo, September 5-13.

This year's conference could be interpreted as a public relations coup for the U.S. and the population establishment in general. The many organizations involved in the ICPD nurtured the conference's appearance as an international forum for the discussion of issues of universal concern. The issue of overpopulation appeared not as the singular source of humanity's impending doom, but fully integrated as a serious corollary to the many other issues at hand. In addition to targets for world population growth, the preamble of the *Program of Action* that was adopted at the conference established the following objectives: *provision of universal access to reproductive health services, including family planning and sexual health; sustained economic growth* in the context of sustainable development; education, especially for girls; gender equity and equality; and infant, child and maternal mortality reduction. Even embarrassing realities such as the disproportionate consumption of global resources by the wealthy countries of the world (especially the U.S.) were mentioned at the conference. By all accounts it appeared that the world's decision makers had finally recognized the real problems at hand. So why should we remain doubtful? What gives?

"With such a huge population, what will happen to my future?"
Mobilization for Public Awareness, Iran

PROGRESSIVE POPULATION CONTROL?

For one thing, there is no reason to believe that women's rights, universal education and health care, or sustainable development in poor countries are really priorities of the U.S. government or any other of the international bodies involved. However, there is significant evidence to the contrary.

The U.S. has a long history of deploying lovely foreign policy ideals in the interest of far less worthy concerns. People all over the world have learned the hard way that when the U.S. says "democracy," "development," or "peace-keeping," it is inevitably a smoke screen for advancing business interests or national security.

Nor can we find evidence of concern for reproductive choice, universal economic empowerment, or equal access to quality health care and education within U.S. borders. Access to quality health care and education in this country still depends on social class, which is largely determined by the luck of birth rather than by individual merit. Reproductive choice has never existed as an affordable option for poor women, particularly those who are affected by punitive welfare policies that have increasingly become a sort of domestic population control.

The future holds worse—if the Republican Party's "Contract with America" becomes law, many poor women be permanently barred from receiving benefits as a punishment for having children, while middle-class families will be encouraged to breed by means of tax incentives (see page 14).

It is important to understand the difference between population control and birth control. Birth control is a means by which individual women and couples can make choices about their fertility; hence, about their own bodies, lives, and families. Population control, with the primary aim of reducing fertility and population growth, is the administrative manipulation of reproductive choices and options available to people. As Asoka Bandarage argues, "Population control involves external domination over people's reproductive lives whereas birth control involves individual autonomy and empowerment."

The concern expressed by international policy makers for women and people in poor countries is not motivated by pure humanitarian spirit. The "new agenda" for population only emerged when lack of attention to issues such as economic development and women's rights, became an obstacle to continuing with population control agendas. It is a political reality that population control strategy can no longer be pursued unless it at least nominally considers facts other than just numbers of people. This is thanks to grassroots political agitation and overwhelming statistical evidence that never fails to show a correlation between fertility reduction and improvement in factors such as economic opportunity and female education.

This new progressive face has allowed the population control establishment to successfully appeal to many on the political left. What this comes down to is a conniving attempt on the part of ruling interests to neutralize opposition, much of which has historically come from feminists concerned with state manipulation of women's reproduction.

One of the most obvious shifts in population control rhetoric is the new focus on women's rights and concerns. This change has brought many mainstream feminist groups into "coalition" with the population establishment. Population control programs and agencies are sometimes seen as feminist allies because they do, in some cases, expand access to family planning, making birth control available to women who never before had that option. It is a basic feminist tenet that access to the full range of safe birth control options, including abortion, in the context of quality health care, is a necessary condition for women's reproductive freedom. However, this is not the purpose and has never been the result of population control programs. Instead, women's options are often extremely limited and women's health is routinely neglected by population control policies. For example, despite years of criticism, programs that use incentives to promote acceptance of contraceptives are still in effect in many countries. Incentives usually take the form of cash, food, or other economic benefits which are awarded to women who accept birth control or sterilization.

These programs are dangerously coercive because for someone living in extreme poverty, the prospect of immediate economic gain is nearly impossible to turn down. Some programs, which give community incentives, clearly rely on peer pressure. Incentive programs hold the basic necessities for life hostage to contraceptive acceptance, seriously tarnishing women's ability to choose.

Women's choices are also restricted in choosing between birth control methods. Typically, barrier methods such as condoms and diaphragms are de-emphasized in favor of more high-tech, provider-controlled methods. (Recently this has changed somewhat, with condom use being promoted as a preventative measure against AIDS and STDs.) From a population control perspective, IUDs, the Depo Provera shot, and Norplant are the most ideal methods. Even with the pill, a woman has the decision every day whether or not to take it. With Norplant on the other hand, a provider need only convince a woman once to have the device inserted and then can be ensured that she will not become pregnant for at least five years.

Unfortunately for women who are the targets of such programs, high-tech contraceptives also have higher rates of complications, such as heavy bleeding. Women are rarely given the chance to make informed decisions about their own health, because there is often no attempt made to explain the risks and side effects associated with the various methods.

The problem is further compounded when quality primary health care is unavailable, as it usually is to poor women worldwide. In the case of Norplant, the difficulties many women have had getting it removed are well documented. Meanwhile, sterilization continues to be the most prevalent form of birth control worldwide. Population control does not contribute to the advancement of women's reproductive freedom.

Population control serves neither people, nor the earth. Population control forces have also been falsely aligned with the environmental movement. Riding on the coattails of heightened concern about the environment, increased emphasis on the threat of overpopulation to the earth's balance serves as a justification for measures to reduce population growth. It is true that demographic crunches in some places contribute to environmental imbalance; however, humanity is not the threat to the ecosystem.

Rather, ruling elites are destroying the earth to support their exploitative social and economic structures. These fundamentally oppressive structures— which can be changed because they have been humanly created— are at the root of both environmental destruction and demographic instability.

WHITE LIES

The history of population control says a lot about what it is today. In 1798, English economist Thomas Malthus began to promote his belief that human population growth caused poverty, environmental destruction, and many other social ills. He didn't believe in birth control and simply argued for allowing the poor to die of hunger. His followers, the neo-Malthusians, took his ideas and proposed population control as the solution.

The birth control movement in the early 1900s was divided among neo-Malthu-

sians who were interested in reducing population, supporters who advocated individual women's rights, and eugenicists who believed that the poor, non-whites, and social deviants were genetically inferior, and, therefore, should be kept from having children. Each of these ideologies influenced the beginnings of the modern population control establishment, and each ideology can still be felt.

Past and present population control policy has always been tinged with racism. Tapping into the widespread white fear of "race suicide" in the face of increasing immigration, President Theodore Roosevelt condemned the use of birth control among whites. Historically, population control has been, and continues to be, an outlet for white fear. The meaning of whiteness does not lie in skin color, but in power relations; therefore, whiteness is a defensive position, which is defined against the power of "non-white" people.

Population control ideology efficiently uses deeply ingrained white fear of losing power and control. Although the politically inexpedient "dangers of white race suicide" have been left to history and the racist fringe, the same racist ideology is encoded into discussions of population control. It is an obvious reality that population control is overwhelmingly aimed at people of color around the globe. When population control became a matter of public policy (around World War II), it was emphasized for use primarily in Third World nations and applied disproportionately to members of oppressed nationalities within the U.S.

Most supporters of population control programs never speak of race and would probably vehemently deny personal prejudice; however, the issue remains colored. The pictures of teeming city streets that visually symbolize overpopulation never show the fair-skinned citizens of Europe, the most densely populated continent in the world. At a public forum held in preparation for the Cairo conference, Timothy Wirth, the U.S. Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs, drew explicit parallels between rapid population growth and civil unrest in Haiti and Somalia. Then he extended the atmosphere of paranoia by asking the audience to consider the growing numbers of "young men in North Africa and Algeria" as an issue for future political stability.

Overpopulation ideology has always served as a smoke screen for the real problems of the world. It has provided a convenient, ahistoric explanation for nearly all forms of human misery, such as poverty, war, and environmental devastation. The justifications for population control have changed with the times since overpopulation first became an issue of widespread concern around the time of World War II, but national security has always been a constant theme. Because struggle for social change is perceived as a threat to national security, it is misrepresented as chaotic warfare that is caused by cramped and confused conditions. For example, to counter the threat of national liberation movements in the 1950s, overpopulation was linked to the spread of communism. One 1951 magazine for highschoolers explained: "Politically, overpopulation creates a breeding ground for communism. Communist propaganda thrives on poverty and discontent." In the 1960s, domestic population control programs were stepped up in response to U.S. social change movements. Currently, the situation in Haiti has been repeatedly exemplified as a result of overpopulation. One thing the eager population control establishment has proved is that no matter how complex any particular situation may be, it can be easily reduced to overbreeding and overcrowding.

graphic by Heidi

The ideology of overpopulation obscures the role of imperialist powers, like the United States, in the destruction of Third World economies. By hiding the truth while manipulating populations in response to market/labor needs, population control functions as a support for unsustainable, exploitative economic relationships that increasingly concentrate wealth into the hands of a few at the expense of indigenous populations. Not only does world capitalism depend on controlling the production of exploited subjects, it also depends on controlling their reproduction.

The relationship between economic exploitation and the focus on the reproductive power of women is illustrated by the timing of population control offensives. For example, population control suddenly became a priority when Puerto Rico's agricultural system collapsed during the Depression as a result of U.S. colonial policy which had replaced subsistence farming with export crops. As Ana Ortiz argues, "All of a sudden, overpopulation became the problem in Puerto Rico as opposed to massive resource extraction for the United States." These policies eventually led to the sterilization of one-third of the women of childbearing age in Puerto Rico. As this example shows, concern about population growth does not correlate with the level of environmental destruction or poverty, but with the perceived threat of social unrest and the changing requirements for exploited labor.

Through such agencies as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, population control has become increasingly tied in with international finance. Acceptance of population control agendas and programs, along with other structural adjustments like privatization of industry and the opening of markets for trade, is often a prerequisite for receiving foreign aid. International financial bodies can use their economic leverage for influence in many areas that assist the ruling class. For example, the World Bank consistently makes family planning a priority over other primary health care programs. This skews the development of health policy so that highly technical and interventionist birth control methods, like Norplant, may be available in areas where basic medications and minimally adequate medical facilities are not.

TAKING BACK CONTROL

Everything aside, some would say that this kind of political critique is all hot air because it doesn't address the real dangers of overpopulation. These people, who believe we're facing impending doom if we don't crack down on overpopulation now, will defend even patently authoritarian measures that aim to reduce population growth. According to this view, a little human misery today will prevent much more misery in the future.

Unfortunately for this seemingly pragmatic argument, the authoritarian promotion of family planning isn't even the most expedient way of reducing population growth. In country after country, the demographic transition leading to a decrease in population growth has occurred when land and wealth are redistributed more equitably, women have gained access to public space and opportunities, and primary health care and education have been made widely available. It has been shown many times that social change is more effective in achieving population stability than anti-democratic measures.

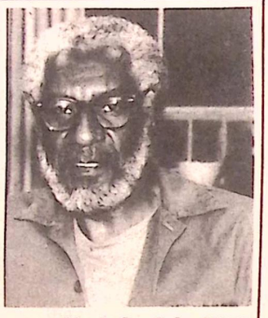
The actual root of the "population crisis" is a deep social and political crisis. Population control pretendsto be a remedy for human misery, but it's not. People don't need population control but a better program for a sustainable future. This requires a radical redistribution of the land and wealth; local autonomy and sustainable economies that are democratic and responsive to local/regional realities; universal access to basic economic needs; education and quality health care; and social, political, economic, and reproductive self-determination for women. Population control merely covers up for the lack of any of these while intensifying the very systems of domination and exploitation that have led to both demographic crunches and the ills ascribed to them.

Because population control is an imperialist agenda that relies on the patriarchal subordination of women as well as white fear, it must be attacked on multiple fronts. In particular, effective opposition must be both anti-imperialist and feminist. Neither pro-choice liberal feminists who are primarily concerned with women's equality within imperialist structures nor nationalist movements that retain patriarchal assumptions will be able to thoroughly overturn the oppressive structures of our society which support population control. "The struggle being waged worldwide by African and other Third World women for reproductive liberation and self-determination can be viewed as an aspect of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist process," according to Monica Kuumba. "Population policies are only fully understood and appreciated once placed in this broader context." There must be an integration of revolutionary feminist and anti-imperialist forces which can end both large scale colonization and the individual colonization and exploitation of women and men's bodies and lives.

ANARCHIST ABC BLACK CROSS

Free Mark Cook

Jackson Brigade Member & Ex-Panther Still Held



Mark Cook In 1992

Seen any widows of Vietnam-era POWs/MIAs on TV lately? *Notice how they're all white, and how their dead husbands were all Air Force captains and majors? High-ranking, highly-paid, highly-loyal flyboys got shot down by the bushel, and, if they survived the rough ride down, got well-deserved receptions on the* ground. Ouch. Trust me, ain't one of those cats still alive.

Seen any Vietnam-era U.S. political prisoners on TV lately? Nope? What's up with that?

"The Vietnam War was fought not only on the soil of Southeast Asia, but in the cities and towns of the U.S. as well," says the Mark Cook Freedom Committee, which is building support for an ex-Black Panther and George Jackson Brigade member imprisoned for 18 years.

One member of the brigade was killed and another wounded and captured in January, 1976, when a bank expropriation turned into a shootout. The wounded comrade was freed in another gunfight, and, days later, Mark Cook was arrested and accused of the bank job. The state convicted him of that and the escape. He has never acknowledged participating in either action.

"Actions in support of justice are never criminal," Mark has said.

He got double life-plus-10-years from Washington state and 30 years from the Feds. He was supposed to serve it all concurrently, but the sentencing judge died and the government decided to ignore his ruling and run the sentences consecutively. The parole board refuses to give him a hearing.

Mark grew up in Seattle. Before his capture, he'd already put in a lifetime of serving the people: Prisoner support work, helping ex-prisoners get job training, anti-war activism, and anti-racist work.

Since going in 18 years ago, Mark has kept it up. "He never once renounced his political beliefs," the Freedom Committee says.

Mark is in Washington State Prison at Monroe.

info: Mark Cook Freedom Committee/ POB 85763/ Seattle, WA/ 98145-2763

RESISTANCE CONTINUES AT S. OHIO CORRECTIONAL FACILITY

LUCASVILLE, OH — 18 months after authorities provoked a prisoner rebellion in which a guard was killed, 48 prisoners face charges from kidnapping & assault to aggravated murder, a capital charge. Little Rock Reed, a parollee on the prisoners' defense team is back in custody on bogus parole violation charges.

Ana Lucia Gelabert May Starve to Death at the Hands of the texas DOC

by Burn One

Ana Lucia Gelabert, a prisoner at the Hobby Unit, Marlin, TX, may die on her hunger strike this holiday season if tekkksas prison authorities don't revoke false disciplinaries against her.

With 1300 wimmin inmates, Hobby is the Largest Wimmin's Prison In the U.S. Of K.K.K.

On August 26th, Ana Lucia Gelabert began her second hunger strike this year. (*Blast!* #2.) She has been constantly abused by guards and prisoncrats, and she is on hunger strike against this unrelenting abuse:

- Overt, continual sexual harassment
- False disciplinaries
- Deletions in her medical records which show her to have work restrictions
- Revocation of her craft-shop card so that she is unable to paint.

Painting is one of the few outlets for Ana Lucia, and also her only source of income in prison. Guards hit her with four false disciplinaries in one week in August, then took her craft shop card and seized her paints and other materials, which she bought with hard-earned prison money.

Ana Lucia began her first hunger strike this year in May to protest another false disciplinary. That time, she was charged for supposedly refusing to work, even though her medical record states that she has a weight lift restriction of 25 pounds from back injury. Her refusal to work was her refusal to lift the front of a food cart weighing in excess of 400 pounds. This was her16th or 17th disciplinary in five weeks.

The bogus charges were retaliation for writing about other massive abuses at Hobby. When she went on hunger strike the first time, Ana Lucia was shipped to a psych ward over a weekend. At this time, she was "held for 5 days in a room at between 50 and 60 degrees F. ('cold room'). No clothing, no blankets, no mattress: a bare steel bed with nothing." She was not eating at this time and was forced to wrap herself in toilet paper, rationed a few sheets at a time, to survive. Ana Lucia resumed eating after 13 days with the understanding that all of the false disciplinaries would be dropped.

Ana Lucia is one among the 1300 wimmin suffering from abuses by the TDC. at the Hobby Unit. (*Prison News Service* Jan-Feb 1994.) Late in 1993, the Hobby Unit in Marlin, TX was changed from a minimum security men's prison into a maximum security women's prison. This all comes as no surprise as tekkksas gears up to incarcerate as many people as possible in the rising amerikkkan trend of imprisonment.

The TDJC-ID Hobby Unit is a work camp especially designed for wimmin that runs the entire spectrum of possible abuses. Wimmin are openly strip searched. One womyn was forced to strip to her bra and thermal underwear pants in the middle of the inside yard, outside, in November. Two female guards conducted the search with male guards looking on, and the yard is in open view of everyone. Wimmin are subjected to 24-7 sexual harassment by male guards. They are called "bitches" and "cunts," not allowed to wear bandannas around their heads but forced to wear them in their pockets. They are not allowed high heels. They are not allowed to cut their hair or have hair dryers. They are not allowed to wear hats or scarves outside in the winter when they are forced to stand in long lines to report to work, or to pick up clothes, medical supplies, and mail.

By far, one of the most outrageous abuses is known as "forced sleeplessness." Inmates are frequently waked in the night under the pretense of a counting procedure. Male guards will enter female inmate's cells and ask to see their IDs in the middle of the night, when all inmates have been locked in their cells since 10:30 pm. "This is called a 'special count' and is (usually) only done during normal hours: to verify that no one has escaped mingled up among the outside visitors; here it is done routinely, daily, for no discernible purpose other than to intentionally disrupt our sleep." Inmates are expected to report to work between 6:00 or 7:00 a.m. are able to get to sleep before 1:00 a.m. due to lights that come on every 30 minutes after 10:30.

"Sleeplessness practice' has been denounced by the U.S government to the UN Human Rights Commission, and is acknowledged as a form of torture: To wilfully disrupt or interrupt a prisoner's sleep."

On hunger strike since August 26th: Sexually harassed by guards

Ana Lucia Gelabert

Ana Lucia and all of the wimmin at the TDJC Hobby Unit need help urgently!

Denounce and expose the torture of wimmin within the tekkksas prison system. Let public officials know that you know what they're up to. Send letters and phone calls of extreme dissent, as well as demands that they dismiss all disciplinaries against Ana Lucia Gelabert so that she may be able to survive the winter.

Write or call:

- Governor Ann Richard (aka "Bloody Ann" for the many executions she's carried out)
  State Capitol
  Austin,TX 78711
- Warden Pamela Williams/Asst. Warden Gayle Morris
  T.D.C.J.-I.D. Hobby Unit
  Box 6000
  Marlin, TX 76661
  (817)883-5561
- John Stice, Deputy Director
  T.D.C.J.-I.D.
  P.O.B. 99
  Huntsville, TX 77342

U.S. Dragon Population Tops One Million

Reason 1,012,851 why there's no sense even trying to compromise with the system, or the people loyal to it.

The U.S. prison population topped a million for the first time in history. The news stirred a bit of debate in the class-enemy press. It went like this:

- "To hell with those drug-addled, gun-toting monsters. Cut welfare and spend the money building more cells." (Right wing.)
- "Make incarceration rational. Slam the really rotten ones away forever and let's treat the rest to more cops, home-monitoring devices, and midnight basketball." (Left wing.)

Is this the kind of "debate" anyone should be trying to jump into? Can you reason with people who take incarceration for granted?

"When the prison gate opens, the real dragon will fly out."— Ho Chi Minh

anyone smell smoke?

ABUSERS WHACKED

(they blowed up reeel good.) Women who defended selves get clemency (from abusive governors)

THE CLEMENCY MOVEMENT GROWS. Women who defend themselves or their children against violent mates are sent to prison more than three-quarters of the time. On the other hand, in cases this autumn in the U.S. and Canada, murderous males got off on the lamest excuses: "Heat of passion" and "too drunk to know what was up."

The movement to win clemency scored victories in California in 1993 and in Illinois this summer. Conservative Republican governors in both states released abuse survivors doing time for "murder." Both men have turned down or are sitting on more clemency appeals.

Convicted Women Against Abuse is a support group for battered women in the California Institution for Women.

The California Coalition for Battered Women in Prison includes volunteer attorneys, prison reform activists, social workers, and advocates for battered women.

"I was freer in here [prison] than when I was married to him." —Illinois woman freed this summer

Write them:
Eli Rosenblatt/ Prison Action & Activist Support Network/ POB 3201/ Berkeley, CA/ 94703 Fax: 510-845-8816

"Minnesota Nice"

Little Plantation on the Prairie

Prison-for-Profit "Saves" White Town, Beats Up Puerto Ricans

by Burn One

A northern minnesota town's plan to "turn a profit" off of incarceration backfired momentarily last month when conditions at the municipally-owned Prairie Correctional facility became so horrifying that they attracted the attention of the FBI and the local media. It is doubtful, however, that anything will change for the prisoners that are being held there (especially for Tom Mulcahy, 52, who allegedly committed suicide at PCF on November 13.)

The Prairie Correctional facility is a medium-security, $28 million, 516-bed "rent-a-cell" prison built for the sole purpose of reviving the failing economy of this rural minnesota town. This follows a growing trend of the privatization of prisons, at a growth rate of 900 prisoners a week, for profit.

When PCF opened in June of 1992, the Appleton City Coordinator ran from state to state urging prisoncrats to solve their "overcrowding problems" by sending him their "excess prisoners." At first there were no takers: tight budgets didn't allow for the "rent-a-cell" scheme. PCF sat empty for almost a year. Then the good ol' minnesota boys hooked up with colonial officials in Puerto Rico, who needed prison space. Puerto Rico and Appleton Prison Corp. signed a contract in April of 1993 for $47-$52 per prisoner. "The whole town is smiling," a local told the press, referring to this "economic development tool." This in and of itself would be enough to make anyone's skin crawl, but what's worse are the atrocities that have gone on there since the inception of that contract.

Few guards speak Spanish, while 90% of the prisoners speak only Spanish. In June 1993, guards used gas to "quell a disturbance." Very few details about that "disturbance" were released accept that angry prisoners damaged reinforced windows on 11 cells. It's not even about "racist overtones." This is straight-up, racist, colonial-style oppression for PROFIT, and it only gets worse.

Three former employees of PCF stated, in a 27-page search warrant request and affidavit filed by the FBI, that they wit-

continued on page 22

Conference Gives Direction to Continental Anarchist Black Cross

by Burn One

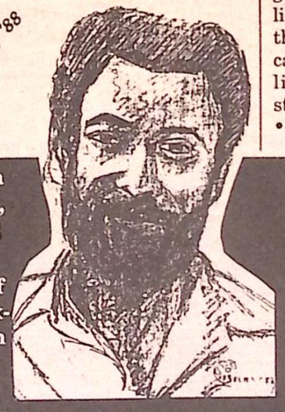
At the A.B.C. conference in N.Y.C. this past August, prisoner support groups from across the continent came together and adopted some aggressive proposals for the direction that this continental ABC should be taking. Representatives of ABC groups from Chicago, Houston, Montreal, Minneapolis, New York City, Toronto, Washington, D.C., Georgia and New Jersey came together and adopted proposals for the work that these groups will be doing over the next year.

The first of these was a decision to support the National Control Unit Monitoring Project, as laid out in a proposal presented by Bonnie Kerness of the American Friends Service Committee. Specifically, groups agreed to do surveillance and monitoring of control units on a regional level and one year's worth of intensive data gathering around the location and conditions of control units across the country.

The second proposal accepted was Lorenzo Komboa Ervin's "Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross" which outlines, in 13 points, goals that ABC groups should strive towards in doing effective prisoner support.

The third proposal adopted by the group as a whole was an Emergency Response Network. This will function as a continental phone tree which can be activated when support is needed for prisoners subjected to excessive abuses or undergoing parole or appeals hearings, and/or other actions taken in response to imperialist prison repression. The ERN has been activated once since its August inception in response to abuses against John Perotti by guards at Lucasville penitentiary in Ohio. Perotti has been on hungerstrike since May 3d of this year in protest of his transfer back to Lucasville. Perotti is an anarchist prisoner who has been held since he was 19 on a $7 robbery charge. He is now in his late 30s and is being persecuted for his successful jailhouse lawyer activism.

Sketch by Selby '88



E. Breeze Barrow, 1951-1994
Black Panther

***The Blast!*, Twin Cities ABC, and Brew City Anarchist Collective (Milwaukee send a shout of condolence to Kai Barrow, the Black Panther Newspaper Committee, Patterson Anarchist Collective, New Jersey ABC, and all the comrades of E. BREEZE BARROW. He died this October after 43 years of life and struggle.**
In a moving obituary, the *Jersey Anarchist* (#22, Nov. 1994) acknowledges "a debt of gratitude" for the "comradely hand, advice, and insight" Breeze and the BPNC extended when the newborn Patterson Anarchist Collective came under repression in mid-1992.
BPNC/ POB 16330/ Jersey City, NJ/ 07306
PAC/ POB 8532/ Patterson, NJ/ 07508-8532

Shots

•**LORENZO STONE-BEY,** unjustly held in Indiana for 18 years, has written *Voice of the Oppressed*, a pamphlet on the Moorish struggle behind bars. Brew City Anarchist Collective is publishing: BCAC/ c/o Discontent/ POB 93174/ Milwaukee, WI/ 53203. $3 for 1; $5 for 2.
Lorenzo Stone-Bey/ #10006/ Indiana State Prison/ POB 41/ Michigan City, IN/ 46360.

•**Indiana may execute** an African-American activist on December 8 for the unsolved 1980 killing of one of the cops raiding his house. AJAMU NASSOR says he and a friend fired back at early-morning home invaders whom they didn't know were police, and that forensic evidence could have acquitted him of shooting the officer. Appeal to: Governor Evan Bayh/ Governor of the State of Indiana/ 100 N. State Avenue/ Indianapolis, IN 46204
info: The Death Row Forum/ Mr. Hugo Boniche/ P. O. B. 451211/ Miami, FL 33245-1211
Support: Ajamu Nassor/ #4168/ POB 41/ Michigan City, IN/ 46360-0041

•Also at **MICHIGAN CITY**, 5 death-row prisoners tried to **bust out**; 4 got as far as the rec yard and fired with a homemade gun on a guard; 1 was gassed and stomped in his cell. All were nabbed. No word at presstime who was involved or their status.

•**JOHN PEROTTI's** book, *Down to the Wire: The Writings of a Prison Activist and Jailhouse Lawyer*, is available £3.50 (US price unknown) from: John Perotti Defense Fund/ c/o 45A Bedford Av/ Powis, Aberdeen/ Scotland/ AB2 3YL. John wrote to raise funds for his fight against prison authorities. John Perotti/ #167712/ POB 46699/ Lucasville, OH/ 45699.

•States with the **DEATH PENALTY** will be executing prisoners faster than ever, and states that don't have it, including **MINNESOTA** and **NEW YORK,** may be getting it. Minnesota's incumbent Republican governor, Arne Carlson, said before the election he will shed his opposition to capital punishment. In New York, Republican governor-elect George Pataki stumped loudly for executions.

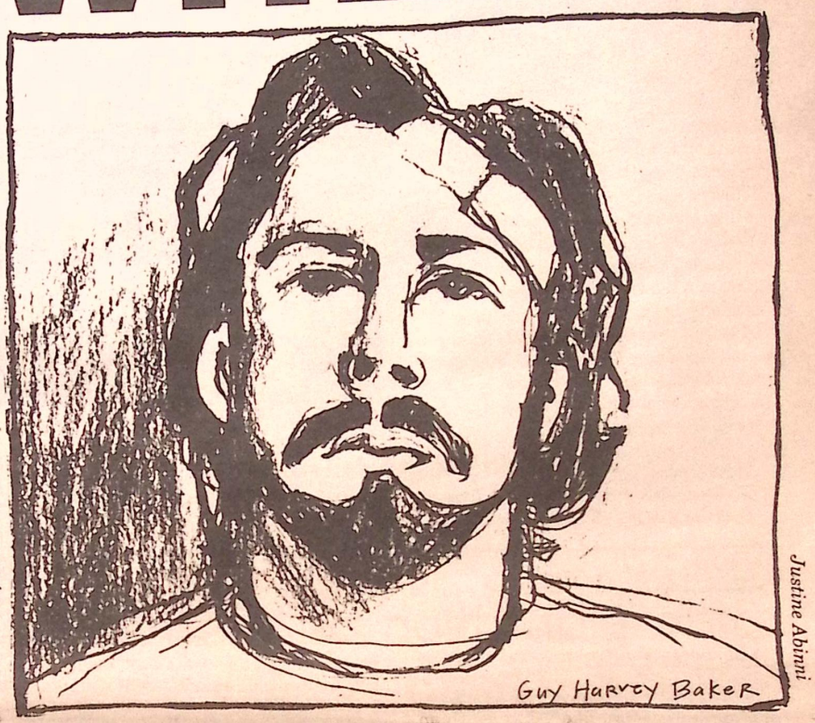
•In the first six months of this year, the U.S. prison population grew by 1,500 a week. **Texas** officials estimate that 1 in 9 Black males in Texas will be in prison by the turn of the century.

•In **Virginia**, Governor George Allen is implementing major **prison construction**. The state needs the space because Allen has pledged to abolish parole, redesign sentences so that murderers, rapists and robbers spend seven times longer behind bars than they do now, and ensure that criminals serve at least 85 percent of their sentences.

•**LOVE AND RAGE FEDERATION** chose 3 areas of work at its annual conference: Anti-fascism, Mexico solidarity, and **prisoner support**. LRF Prisoner-support work-group/ co Discontent/ POB 93174/ Milwaukee, WI/ 53203.

•**ALBERTO RODRIGUEZ**, Puerto Rican POW imprisoned since 1983, seeks parole. "My decision to appear before the parole board is not a renunciation of my POW status, but a recognition that the world has changed dramatically since I was captured 11 years ago." Alberto Rodriguez Parole Cmte: 164 Lexington Av/ Jersey City, NJ/ 07304/ 202-435- 3244, fax: 212-627-1416.

GUY HARVEY BAKER EVERYWHERE



Justine Abinni

Two communities, two dead cops, and two life sentences

by joel

What does it mean when a white man kills a cop?

The deaths of two St. Paul police officers by Gulf War veteran Guy Harvey Baker gave the Twin Cities a chance to address that question. Typically, no one did—not the media, the cops, nor the politicians—and so the killings went down in St. Paul history as a sad moment when "a part of our community" died in the line of duty. *However, the only thing that dies when cops do is the silly belief that cops serve and protect* everyone equally. Guy Harvey Baker killed two cops, but he also did much more. He exposed the lie of law enforcement with six quick shots of a stolen police revolver.

On August 26 at 7:00 am, Officer Ron Ryan Jr. was sent on a routine call to investigate a man sleeping in a car in the parking lot of an East St. Paul church. The man was Baker. Police give two somewhat conflicting stories about what happened next, but what no one disagrees on is that Baker shot Ryan four times from close range, at least once in the head. Baker then took Ryan's gun and drove off. He ditched his car at a liquor store about a mile away and ran by foot through the nearby woods and residential neighborhood.

The police immediately launched a massive manhunt for Baker, using low-flying helicopters, riot gear, shotguns, and riot shields as they "marched down residential streets en masse" (Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, 8/27/94). During the search, Officer Tim Jones and his dog Laser found Baker hiding behind an ice fishing shed in someone's back yard. Baker was the quicker shot, and Jones and the dog both died. The cops found Baker hiding behind a house a short time later. After beating him up, they took him to the hospital and then to jail.

The invisible race

The reaction by the state and the local press to Ryan's and Jones's deaths was very different from their reaction to the assassination of Minneapolis cop Jerry Haaf in 1992. While Haaf's killing was described as an outrageous crime of hate (he was shot while writing a report in a local pizza joint in south Minneapolis), the killings of Ryan and Jones were mourned as a loss for the entire community. Talk of how killing a cop also kills part of the community was thrown about occasionally after Haaf was shot but nowhere near as much as it was when Ryan and Jones went down for good.

Why did the police and the press interpret these two cop killings so differently? Why did the Haaf shooting focus on gangs, revenge, and the terrorization of the Black community (for example, Black community leaders from St. Paul told Black youth not to go to Minneapolis in the wake of Haaf's killing for fear that they would be beaten and harassed by police looking for revenge), while the other focused on the community and the police's "vital role" in it? This is the question that must be addressed when we ask what it means for a white man to kill a cop and, as usual in America, the answer is rooted in race.

Not that it looks that way. In fact, the coverage of the Ryan and Jones killings was characterized by the absence of race. One reason the non-stop media coverage of the police manhunt for Baker was so boring (TV stations broadcast the manhunt live for up to five hours) was that they couldn't link the killing to race. Without a Black suspect, there were no horrible tales to tell of Vice Lords or Crips stalking cops and no long sad speeches to make about the decay of the inner city. After a few minutes, footage of police running between houses and through alleys with dogs gets dull, and without the tantalizing specter of race to seize upon, the coverage was, well, boring. The press ran out of things to say.

Well, they almost ran out of things to say. Because they couldn't play the race card, the media and the St. Paul police played up the "we've lost two members of our community" card. When race is not an obvious factor in a cop killing, the focus shifts from race to community, and so the public heard sad speeches from the police chief and mayor about how the death of an officer is a tragic loss for the entire "family" of St. Paul. If a politician (or most any white person) can avoid the subject of race, you betcha she will.

According to the cops and the press, if a Black person isn't involved then a cop killing has nothing to do with race. They couldn't be more wrong. Playing a different hand doesn't mean the joker goes away. The total absence of race in the Baker case actually shows just how racist this society is, and the emphasis on how Ryan's and Jones's deaths were "losses to the community" reveals this.

Cops: holding the line

The Minneapolis *Star Tribune*'s lead article on the killings began: "It's been 24 years since St. Paul police lost a member of their family to a bullet. On Friday, they lost two." St. Paul police chief Bill Finney said, "The St. Paul Police Department is a family. We know each other and we love each other. This is a great blow."

Not only is the police department one big happy family, apparently the entire city of St. Paul is, too. Mayor Norm Coleman lamented in his eulogy for the dead cops, "We in St. Paul are a family. Never again will we be the same... Tears can never wash away the indelible legacy of these heroes." Cops aren't the evil monsters most of us think they are, according to Coleman, they're really the core of our community and we should support them.

The *Star Tribune* said something similar in their editorial about Ryan and Jones: "Any murder is horrible, but the killing of a police officer really does register on a different scale of horror. Murdering a cop strikes directly at the rules, laws and commitment to order that makes community life possible; it somehow erodes confidence that the center can hold."

However, despite the eulogies of mayors and the editorials of newspapers, we are not one big happy family. This is because there is not one single community in any city but at least two: the rich and mostly-white suburban neighborhoods on the one hand and the poor neighborhoods of (mostly) people of color on the other.

These two communities hate each other and are often at war with each other. The privileged community goes to war on the poor through laws, legislation and, when necessary, by sending their goons to poor neighborhoods to crack skulls. The oppressed community goes to war by attacking the only element of the privileged community who dares to enter their neighborhoods: the cops. Calling cop killings a tragedy for the entire community is a lie. It's an attempt to convince us that we are all one big happy family, but if that was true, why would we need cops at all?

Of course, there are hundreds of different communities in most cities, based on ethnicity, geography, social status, etc. Communities are also divided from within by class, political interests, property ownership, and other factors. I don't want to deny the existence of all these divisions, nor the importance of diversity in a free society. Nevertheless, most communities

in America, despite all their differences—some wonderful, some not—belong in one of two camps: communities of the privileged (which in the U.S. usually translates to "white") and communities of the powerless.

Cops are defenders of communities of privilege: of the rich, of whites, of family values, of "law and order," of the rock-solid middle class. Cops hold the line between privileged and oppressed communities. They make sure that they are kept distinct and that the power relations between them don't change. Abolishing the gross inequalities of this society means abolishing the split between privileged and oppressed communities. It also means that the cops must go.

Bob Hill, community member

An example might help show the extremes to which the state and the media will go to cover up the split between the privileged and the oppressed. During the massive manhunt for Baker, Bob Hill, a Native American who "looks Mexican" (his words) and a resident of the neighborhood Baker was hiding in, was forced out of his house by police, stuffed in the back of a squad car and cuffed. Police then raided his house, shot eleven canisters of tear gas into it, and killed his $1500 Shar-Pei dog, despite his pleas that no one else was in the house.

Police were looking for Baker's friend Jay Barrientes, who is Chicano. Because Hill "looks Mexican" (and therefore could be Barrientes, according to cop logic), police cuffed him, trashed his house and killed his dog. However, instead of an appropriate headline like "Police beat man, kill dog, and destroy house by mistake," the *Star Tribune's* headline ran, "City will help man whose house was damaged." They also reported the "heartfelt" sorrow the St. Paul police chief felt about the "accident" and how a police commander pulled out his wallet and generously gave Hill $40 of his own money.

The assault on Hill and his home was not good for the image of the police as "part of the family," so the raid was downplayed by the cops and the media. Never once was it suggested that the police's actions were racist (except by Hill). Instead, the issue was portrayed as just another one of those crazy incidents that all the residents of the neighborhood had to put up with during the hunt, like the woman who had to cancel work for the day, or the 18-year old youth who slept through the manhunt and was bummed because he missed the whole thing. As if there is any comparison!

People of color receive different treatment from the cops: no white person in the neighborhood was cuffed or beaten or had their house raided for looking like Baker. According to this society, if you are white you don't really have a "race," therefore your skin color does not automatically make you a suspect. However, to hide the fact that they treat a person differently depending on which community they think he belongs to, the cops busted Bob Hill's head and then apologized for their behavior in front of the cameras, as if they don't do that kind of shit to oppressed people every day. The rhetoric: we're all one big happy community (sorry for the mistake, Bob). The reality: some of us get to be more happy than others (bleed, Bob).

Crazy white folks

What happened to Hill shows that cities are not just split between rich and poor communities. Often, the rich/poor split is defined by race. That's one reason why the killings of Jones and Ryan were treated differently than the assassination of Haaf by the state and the media.

Of course, there are obvious differences between the two cases: in Baker's case, the killer is white, the killings were not premeditated, and it was the actual killer who was convicted, all unlike Haaf's case. But the biggest difference is not the circumstances surrounding the two cases but the way in which they were portrayed by the media.

In the Haaf shooting the state prosecuted the case as a political assassination. The state decided that somebody—some *bodies*—would have to pay for this assassination, whether they were actually involved in the shooting or not. Hence eight Black men were charged with killing Haaf and an "informant," and four innocent men are now spending the rest of their lives in prison. The media covered the state's view of the Haaf case faithfully.

However, in the Baker case the media presented the murders not as the result of an evil plan by a notorious Black gang but as the spontaneous reaction of a mentally unstable white person. Baker says he suffers from the Gulf War Syndrome, a disease the government won't admit exists but thousands of soldiers claim to have. Usually the press is skeptical when people claim to have the disease, but not this time.

In addition to faithfully reporting the symptoms of the disease Baker complained of, the press also reported that Bakers' friends said that he "changed" after the Gulf War. He went from being a "funny, popular young man" who "dated all the best-looking girls" before the War to "a gun freak" after it. The *Strib* also cited a 1993 FBI report that says that killers of cops tend to be young white men with high school educations who have some type of "personality disorder."

Baker probably does have the disease, but that's not the point. The point is, according to the media, when a Black man kills a cop it's because it's "in his nature" to hate cops and/or white people. Therefore, we need more cops to keep these kinds of "dangerous" elements under control. However, when it's a white man who does the job, it's a freak occurrence, not a cold-blooded act. The person must be mentally ill. After all, why else would a white person want to kill a cop?

However, the prosecution had to be careful because they and the police wanted it both ways: on the one hand Ryan and Jones's deaths were totally "random" because Ryan was killed on a routine call by a half-crazed white man, but on the other hand Police Chief Finney said Baker was "very cool, very calm, very chilling" after his arrest and that "He was quite calculating." Finney said Baker differed from other military veterans St. Paul police has dealt with in the past. "The difference is his determination to be a killer. A killer of cops..."

So Baker has a "personality disorder," but he's also "cool and calm." Why the contradiction? Because to preserve the bonds of whiteness (and therefore privilege), Baker has to be called "crazy" by the police and press (no sane white person would ever attack a police officer), but to meet the demands for retribution Baker has to be "sane" so he can go to prison for the rest of his life.

Katrina

The contradiction of "community"

To preserve privilege, Baker must be declared unofficially insane; to preserve the image of St. Paul as "one big family," he must be declared legally sane and fit to suffer his punishment. The contradictions of the ideology of law enforcement are revealed. Police are not here "to protect and serve" us all, they exist to perpetuate a constant war on the oppressed by the privileged. At Baker's sentencing (he pleaded guilty without a trial), County Attorney Fred Fink (appropriate name) argued for two life sentences without possibility of parole. He admitted that giving two life sentences to Baker was largely symbolic but, he argued, "Ron Ryan Jr. and Tim Jones were ambushed and killed because they were symbols. The entire community grieved because of the symbols involved in the tragic murder of the two police officers."

Fink is right: cops are symbols, but they are symbols of one kind of community: the community of privilege. The privileged are white or wealthy or sometimes both. The oppressed are overwhelmingly poor people of color. No matter how hard the cops, the state, and the media try to convince us, we are not all one big happy family, the law is not everyone's friend, and come to think of it, maybe Guy Harvey Baker isn't crazy after all.

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Torture at Appleton Prison

Continued from page 19

affidavit filed by the FBI, that they witnessed horrifying abuse of prisoners by guards that occurred over last winter. This includes one account of an inmate being forced to strip to his underwear and restrained in a "cold cell" adjacent to an outside door (which prison overseers left propped open), and held there for a month without blankets or a mattress. All of this, during a time when outside temperatures reached -30 degrees F.

The former employees, all reported "corrections veterans," also recounted a series of incidents that began on Sept. 19, 1993. The first was one in which six inmates were injured when guards removed 40 inmates from their cells and put them on a jail bus for Louisiana. Later that same day, the former employees recollected, a guard unit called Special Operations Response Team (SORT) "donned black masks," "moved from cell to cell," and "indiscriminately administered blows to the heads, faces, bodies and legs of inmates."

It was reported that the guards responsible for the violent beatings "appeared to be under the influence of alcohol." One former guard recounts, in particular, an attack on one inmate who was not a disciplinary problem and who spoke English, but who "nonetheless was jumped by five SORT members and dragged from his cell. The SORT members beat him with (nightsticks)... severely in the face. SORT members continued to beat him until he fell face down on the floor."

The former employees describe such beatings going on into the next day as well as inmates being stripped to their underwear and forced to stay in cold cells, begging for blankets and being denied them, while the guards all wore jackets, indicating the cold temperatures of the cells.

Abuses such as these are not at all new to the u.s. prison system nor the Minnesota prison system. Both are saturated with accounts such as these. Take, for instance, this year's death of Stillwater inmate Gregory Stampley, who was found dead, lying naked in his cell, deprived of food and water, and was witnessed eating his own feces.

Or, for example, this past summer's brutal beating of an Oak Park Heights inmate, Antonio Shadowlove, who lay on the floor writhing in pain, screaming "my balls, my balls" while guards beat him using a method of excruciating pain, but one that would leave no bruises, thus, no evidence of abuse.

There are two things that are slightly different about the Prairie Correctional facility case. The first is that the FBI is actually conducting a probe into the abuses. Well, you know they have to make it look "on the up and up." The second difference is the more frightening one, and that is, that it doesn't matter what conclusion the FBI probe comes to in regards to PCF, in that it is a capitalist venture, with its largest investor being IDS Financial Services, and its trustee being First Trust National Association of St. Paul.

Legislation was already placed before the state senate in January of 1993, proposing that the state buy or lease the (at that time) economically failing Prairie Correctional Facility. The state decided that it didn't need the space at that time. A statement made at that time by Rep. Chuck Brown, DFL-Appleton, however, sums up what the situation would be should the PCF venture hit hard times. Brown says, "What I really want to get through and show in real numbers is that the state buying or leasing this facility is a win-win situation."

The bottom line in this tragedy is "the bottom line." Even if Prairie Correctional would have held to its decision to send all of the inmates from Puerto Rico back to the commonwealth (which they changed to just sorting out and returning "the troublemakers") they were already prepared to lease out the extra space to the state of Colorado.

Furthermore, it can be assumed that should the "facility" suffer and should further difficulties cut into its profit margin, the state of Minnesota will be right there to bail it out by purchasing or leasing the space. It is likely that the state will need the extra space for all the people jailed under the new crime bill for the purpose of increasing the slave labor, neo-colonial, work force for amerikkka, and "turning a profit" for their oppressors. SHUT IT DOWN! SHUT IT DOWN!

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CRIME AND TAXES

Continued from page 15

It's also why voting for liberals will not create a free society. Republicans and Democrats represent the ideologies of two sectors of the ruling class. Democracy means voters get to choose between the two. This time the Republicans offered the majority of voters (which is—surprise! surprise!—the white middle class) a better plan to preserve their privileges during tough times than the Democrats. Next time the Democrats might make better promises.

We should be honest: life under a Democratic regime is an improvement in some ways than life under the Republicans, especially for those living on the margins. However, let's also be honest about this: Neither Republicans nor Democrats can bring about freedom.

The task, then, is not to blame white folks for their "ignorance" or "false consciousness" but to expose the political, social, and economic institutions that make it in their interest to oppress others for a tiny slice of the ruling class pie. For those of us who benefit from white privilege, instead of trying to stop being racist we need to stop being "white."

The future promises political instability more than it does a future of fascist Republican rule. Democrats and Republicans will continue to fight each other over who can preserve the privileges of whiteness the best. It may be the Democrats who make a comeback next time if they can regain the white male vote. If neither party can soothe the fear and anger of whiteness, some whites might start looking to third party candidates like Ross Perot or the racist Bo Gritz. None of these third party candidates will be liberal because white folks don't think they can afford to be "progressive" anymore.

Therefore, because of the racism and instability of the political system, the strategy of all decent folk who fear the rule of the Right shouldn't be to vote liberal, but to build a grassroots movement toward the abolition of whiteness and capitalism. Instead of rocking the vote, we should be rocking the (white) boat. This movement requires a lot more work than voting once a year, but its promises for the future can't be stuffed in any ballot box, either.

More Local News!

Stillwater Prisoner Murdered
Family Sues the State

On September 9, 1994, a press conference, called by the St. Paul chapter of the NAACP, was held in relation to the murder of Greg Stampley while he was imprisoned at Stillwater Prison. Stampley's family is bringing a wrongful death suit against the state.

Greg Stampley was found dead on January 21, 1994 in a punative isolation cell at the Stillwater Prison in Stillwater Minnesota. It was determined that Stampley died as a result of being beaten and maced by prison guards on two occasions, and being deprived of meals and water for several days.

It was reported at the press conference that Greg Stampley had been experiencing a nervous breakdown, during which he was reported to have eaten his own feces. The medical examiner 's reports suggest that Greg Stampley died of a "preforated ulcer." This may be one of the causes of his death, consistent with his being deprived of adequate and competent medical treatment by the prison medical staff.

In February 1994, associate warden Karen Robinson and warden Dennis Benson told the Star Tribune that Stampley's death was due to "natural causes". In light of the conditions and circumstances of his death it is absurd to attribute it to "natural causes".

At the press conference on September 9, former prisoner Kenneth Webster reported that he observed as prison warden Benson looked into Greg Stampley's cell and walked away laughing.

There are many defendants in the wrongful death suit pending in Washington County District Court, all of whom work in some capacity at Stillwater or Oak Park prison.

When asked his prediction on the outcome of the wrongful death litigation, attorney Jordan Kushner said that the litigation clearly shows that prison officials killed Greg Stamply.

—Dan Van Lanen

Writer's note: I am a former prisoner at MFC-Stillwater and was friends with Gregory Stamply, having played four-way chess with him and others in prison.

I will miss you, Greg, and have very much. I shall think of you, my brother, in doing what I can do to stand up against the state for you and others.—Dan

NIGI

Nigi: Minnesota Rwanda Relief Project is a Twin Cities grassroots organization that strives to financially and morally support Rwandans in the aftermath of the tragedy in the small African country of Rwanda (Nigi is a mandinka word meaning "relief"). Over five hundred thousand people have lost their lives in the past eight months due to factional killings, famine, and disease.

The aftermath of the crisis is overwhelming. There has been an overflowing of people into Zaire, many of whom have subsequently died. In Rwanda itself, many families have been massacred. There remains a high population of orphaned children, who are emotionally and physically scarred by the crisis. Nationally, the government is in financial shambles.

The lines of communication between Rwanda, Zaire, and the United States are severely limited and extremely expensive. For Rwandans living in the United States, news of the fate of loved ones trickles in painfully slow. In addition to emotional stress, financial strain is a problem for local Rwandans, many of whom have entered the United States under educational scholarships which no longer exist.

Nigi strives to support Rwandans in light of their overwhelming hardship. The group was first facilitated by Professor Robin Magee, who knew several Rwandans who were massacred. Professor Magee, a member of the local Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota Eight understood that grassroots organizing would be an effective way to react to a situation such as this one.

Nigi's short term goals are to aid and support local Rwandans in a nonpartisan way. Nigi has publicized the situation in Rwanda and has financially supported local Rwandans. The long term goals of the organization includes creating a pool of funds available to local Rwandans and/or other Africans who may need support in a crisis situation. A concert of nationally known musical artists scheduled for the spring of 1995 will enable Nigi to send a significant amount of money directly into Rwanda.

Nigi: Minnesota Rwanda Relief Project is comprised of African, African-American, and European Americans. For further information or to join our efforts contact us at POB 580646, Mpls, MN 55458. —Nina

U.S. Crime Bill
cont. from p. 11

Abuse (CAPA) has called for people to resist the crime bill by pleading not guilty and demanding jury trials. Their rationale is that the judicial system will collapse if enough people demand trials and refuse plea bargains because the system cannot afford and does not have the time to hear all jury trials.

In Minneapolis, The Committee Seeking Equal Justice For the Minnesota 8 uses the strategy of bringing the criminal "sanction" system, as opposed to the criminal "justice" system, under intensive scrutiny. "We define the criminal sanction system as including police practices, the courts, and correctional facilities. We refer to this system as a sanction system as opposed to a justice system in order to emphasize that the American criminal system does not render justice to persons of color and especially African-Americans." Recently the Committee has begun a traffic stop campaign to monitor racial bias in the prosecution of traffic violations.

In the May 1994 issue of *Crossroad*, Owusu Yaki Yakubu, in an article entitled "Let's 'Gang-Up' On Oppression," argues that adults who are Afrocentric and revolutionary should support and empower youth organizations as opposed to allowing the racist media and other U.S. institutions to define them as "gangs." The strategy is for Afrikans to gain total control of their communities and begin to work together in collectivity. He writes, "Our problem is not that there are 'gangs' in our communities, our problem is that our communities are colonized territories that suffer from arrested development caused by the U.S. settler-imperialist state!"

CALIFORNIA'S ANTI-IMMIGRANT PROPOSITION 187
cont. from p. 6

side stand recipients of those few privileges still available in a shrinking economy. In defense of their social status, they are torn between demanding tax cuts and demanding the government spend their money on prisons. They will turn a coworker over to deportation.

On the other side of the chasm crowd those excluded by definition from these privileges, and a growing number of comparatively privileged people who apparently feel more loyalty to a broad definition of humanity than to any narrow section of it. As this divide deepens, citizens will become illegals and whites will become race traitors.

"We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us"

Mexicanas/os and Xicanas/os in California, however, are unlikely to count heavily on the mercy of white citizens, whose voters showed themselves on November 8 to be 70 percent hostile.

Instead, their autonomous resistance will continue in a variety of forms.

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CLINTON GIVES SOO LINE WORKERS THE SHAFT

By an employee of the Soo Line railroad

The United Transportation Union (UTU) strike began on July 14th. It was set off in response to the Canadian Pacific Soo Line Railroad's demands for a pay cut and a reduction of crew size from two to one person crews. UTU workers are against reducing crew size because it would reduce jobs and make an already dangerous job more dangerous and more difficult.

Demands for a cut in pay came on the heels of bonuses of hundreds of thousands of dollars to individuals in top management. In 1993 alone, the CEO of Canadian Pacific Railroad received $1.5 million from the company.

Vital support came from workers in other unions. The vast majority of the Soo Line's other workers (from sixteen different unions) honored the UTU's picket lines. This meant that over 4,100 workers were

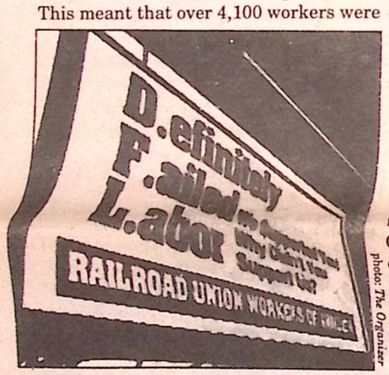


photo: The Organizer

out on strike in eleven Midwestern states, effectively paralyzing Canadian Pacific's Soo Line operations in the U.S. and causing an estimated one million dollars a day loss to the railroad.

The vast majority of engineers, belonging to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), honored the UTU's picket lines despite attempts by Ronald McLaughlin, president of the BLE, to convince his members to cross the picket line.

McLaughlin sent national BLE representatives to Soo Line locals around the region in an attempt to pressure members into crossing the picket lines. However, of the BLE's 450 members on the Soo Line, only about twelve crossed the picket line, despite the treachery of McLaughlin.

When it became clear that McLaughlin's treachery wasn't going to defeat the strike, President Clinton stepped in to order Soo Line workers back to work for sixty days. Top UTU officials ordered strikers to comply.

Clinton's order came on August 29, the 46th day of the strike. He was scared of the UTU's threat of starting a national railroad strike in support of Soo Line workers. Also afraid was Ed Dodge, Soo Line's president and CEO, who said, "Without the President's action, the strike had the potential to spread to other carriers who were not involved in the Soo contract issue." Another reason for Clinton's intervention was the effect the strike was having on the grain harvest in the eleven states serviced by the Soo Line. Full grain elevators meant grain was being dumped on the ground because there was no way to move it. Clinton undermined our strength by ordering us back at a time when the Soo Line needed us the most.

After ordering us back to work, federal mediators tried desperately to convince the UTU to accept binding arbitration. Binding arbitration would give Clinton the ability to impose a contract on us without the UTU's consent. The UTU bargaining committee refused to fall for the trap of binding arbitration. When they were then threatened with Congressional intervention they responded, "In that case, we will just have to see who our real friends are."

When we were first ordered back to work it was supposed to be for only sixty days but when the UTU would not submit to binding arbitration Congress intervened. On October 5, Clinton signed a bill from Congress that extended the back-to-work order to February 28, 1995. Seeing that the legislation was in their favor, Soo Line spokesperson John Bergene said, "We have not opposed the legislation moving through Congress." Unfortunately, UTU general chairperson Jim Beyer expressed the same position, saying, "Whatever suits Congress, there's really no problem with it from our standpoint."

By postponing the strike until March, Clinton has the added advantage of being able to impose an agreement on the workers through an act of Congress, as was done in the 1991 national rail strike. In that strike, hundreds of thousands of rail workers went out on strike. In less than 24 hours an emergency session of Congress convened to order workers back to work and to impose cuts in pay, jobs, and safety. These measures, called PEB 219, passed in the Senate unanimously (which liberal Sen. Paul Wellstone from Minnesota supported) and passed in the House with only five votes against it. However, PEB 219 had already been rejected by the majority of the 235,00 workers out on strike.

These measures by Congress in 1991 were a united attack by both the Democratic and Republican parties against all workers and the right to strike. It showed the utter failure of the union leaderships' strategy of supporting and relying on Democrats. This failure was summed up by a union billboard in Minnesota, where the Democratic Party is called the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party (DFL). The billboard read:

Definitely
Failed
Labor

While the 1991 rail strike was a defeat, we should also see our potential power in what happened there. Congress met in the middle of the night to try to end a strike that was not even a day old. A national rail strike would quickly grind the U.S. economy to a halt. Railroads are the only way to economically ship basic industrial materials such as coal, steel and grain. The financial pain we can inflict against the corporate bosses of this country will be excruciating when we lose our fear of presidential injunctions and other measures that infringe on our right to strike. Decisive victories will be the result.

When Clinton ordered us back to work he appointed an emergency board to make a recommendation for our contract. The recommendations are not in workers' favor. The proposed contract would reduce crew size from two to one, eliminating jobs and reducing safety. While it would give us a small pay increase, that increase wouldn't even account for what's been lost through inflation, let alone the added danger and wear and tear to our bodies that would be caused by a one-man crew.

I have heard very few switchmen or conductors say anything in favor of the proposed contract, but the UTU leadership is trying hard to sell it to the membership. The only thing that may hold us back from fighting for a better contract is our lack of confidence in our union leadership.

When the strike started, union leaders said they wouldn't let the strike go for two weeks without shutting other railroads down. Two weeks later they changed their minds, saying their lawyers looked into it and found that such actions would be illegal. Legal or not, an expansion of the strike was necessary to shut down carriers who were helping out the Soo Line by hauling the Soo Line's subcontracted freight. The UTU's threats of expanding the strike should have been carried out rather than bowing to government pressure and going back to work. The UTU leadership also stood in the way of workers forming a strike committee that could democratically decide on strike strategy.

As one worker put it, "We were fighting with our arms tied behind our backs. The UTU left us in the back waters, laying in the weeds, when we should have been shutting the entire country down. This strike hurt every worker here and we barely even delivered one punch. None of us here are experts, we're all new at this thing, but we learned some things through the course of this strike. One thing we learned is that when we go out, we all have to go out We have to use the secondary picket, government intervention or not, to shut the whole country down. We have to shut down the interchanges of Soo Line freight and shut down all commuter traffic. We have to stop everything. It will be then that we will win."

We must send a clear signal to Clinton that we will not accept his pro-company proposal and we must continue our discussions of what will make our union stronger. There is a movement of railroad workers that exists that stands for fighting unionism. It is called the Intercraft Association of Minnesota (ICAM) and they put out a good newspaper called *Straight Track*. Lynn Henderson, vice president of UTU 1000 on the Burlington Northern Railroad and editor of *Straight Track*, got a standing ovation from Soo Line workers before and after he spoke at our strike rally. Rail workers know it is his kind of militant vision that we need to win against the rail bosses, not the weak leadership of the UTU tops.

Soo Line Strike Update

America's longest railroad strike in 16 years came to a halt on August 29th after 47 days of pickets caused a near-total shutdown of Soo Line operations.

The strikers of the United Transportation Union (UTU) were forced back to work by President Clinton, who formed a Presidential Emergency Board to mediate the dispute. The presidential order also affects 16 other unions honoring UTU's picket lines.

The government reserves the right to intervene in labor conflicts it feels affect "national security." The definition of this has broadened in recent years to the point where almost any large strike is brought down by state action.

Throughout July and August, support for UTU was high and noisy. Huge solidarity rallies were held around the region, including a protest march through downtown Minneapolis on August 9th, where members of all 17 Soo Rail unions staged a sit-in at the lobby of the Soo Line building.

One related union, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, was so firm in honoring the strike that they were threatened with permanent replacement and were thinking of a formal strike themselves when Clinton's order took effect.

On the negative side, leaders of the BLE (Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers) dropped their commitment to honoring UTU's strike. While only an insignificant number of the rank-and-file followed the bureaucrats' lead and scabbed, many workers think this crack in the united front persuaded Soo Line to hold out for federal intervention rather than settle on UTU's terms.

The back-to-work order takes away the one legal weapon workers have against management—the right to strike. In this case, the company will not be able to force through the work-rule and benefits changes that prompted the strike, but it still comes out ahead. Due to the order, the strike could not resume for at least 60 days.

This ban was extended even further by Congress. Strike activity is now prohibited until March of 1995.

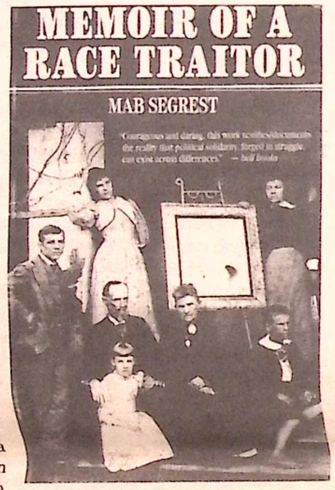
Thanks to the Union Advocate *for some of the information contained herein.*
—IMPULSE 94

REVOLUTIONARY VIEWS

Memoir of a Race Traitor
by Mab Segrest

(274 pages, $15, South End Press, 1994)

I wanted to be more enthusiastic than I am about *Memoir of a Race Traitor*. Having heard about it in advance, I had high expectations of this book—most of which were disappointed. The bulk of the book is, as advertised, a memoir of Mab Segrest's involvement in anti-racist and anti-fascist struggles in the South during the 1980s, especially her work with North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence. This has considerable value in itself as a historical document. For me, a member of the (high-school) class of 1992, even North Carolina in the 1980s seems awfully distant.



I can give *Memoir of a Race Traitor* credit for endowing me with some sorely needed historical perspective about recent political struggles, but aside from that I didn't feel like I got what I really wanted out of the book. Considering the title, I expected to get a fairly cohesive explanation of why the author chooses to identify herself as a race traitor as opposed to just an anti-racist activist. Other than a few sentences regarding her attempts to come to grips with her family's history of organized racism, Segrest doesn't spend much time elaborating her political identification as a race traitor. My high hopes for an explicitly feminist perspective on race treason and anti-racist activism were also dashed. The final essay in the book, which was originally given as a speech at the 1993 National Gay and Lesbian Task Force conference, is an argument for political solidarity that never mentions either Segrest's race traitor theory or any complementary analysis of the complexities of sexual orientation. In fact, she never moves far enough beyond the gay/straight dichotomy to even mention bisexuals or transgender people.

Segrest's analysis of the role capitalism and the state play in racial oppression is also fairly weak. From the first chapter it is clear that most of her political work is focused on getting racist extremists prosecuted by the state. She doesn't address this as a specific strategy for the anti-racist movement or speculate about how one would choose to focus on institutional racism as well as individual racists.

Despite her attempt in the second section of the book to briefly lay out a history of institutional racism and capitalism in the U.S., her analysis of the state as an oppressive force seems limited. In particular, two comments from the third section—her Lesbian and Gay Task Force speech—made me cringe. At one point she writes, "Yes, the gay movement (sic) has more visibility, more access to corridors of power, than we have ever had. But unfortunately, *our biggest ally, the President*, is a weak man in a weak position" (my emphasis). This remark could only be believed if the "gay movement" she refers to does not include any members of the many groups on which Clinton has declared war, such as poor moms and Black youth. Half-delivered promises to lift the ban on gays and lesbians in the military are not enough to make Clinton an ally for the majority of queer people.

In calling for a "queer socialism," she makes another disturbing remark. She writes, "What I really mean is a more genuine democracy, where the citizens of our country have more direct access to all the decisions that affect us, not only in the political but also in the economic arena. (The NAFTA vote was important because it offered a rare occasion where the U.S. Congress got to vote on what multinational corporations do.)" Since I would argue that the U.S. Congress doesn't represent those who will be most devastated by NAFTA any more than multinational corporations do, I'm unclear about what point she is trying to make about her "more genuine democracy" in this example. It appears that Segrest still sees the extremist fringe, not the state, as the main perpetrator of racial oppression.

Mab Segrest's lifetime of solid political work is the best asset this of book. Her first-hand accounts of the fight against organized racists in North Carolina make this a valuable political history of a specific and nearby time and place. However, sadly enough, the political discussion about strategy and theory for the anti-racist movement I hoped for just doesn't happen here.

—Erin Immaculate

Anarchism: Left, Right, and Green
by Ulrike Heider

(153 pages, $12.95, City Lights Press, 1994)

If someone who wanted to learn about the current anarchist scene in the U.S. were to pick up this new book, they would probably get the idea that nothing exciting was happening and go join a religious cult instead. This would aptly reflect either the author's lack of a clue or her willful neglect of a small but thriving anarchist scene during the years she spent researching the book (late eighties—early nineties).

The book is divided into three sections: Anarcho-syndicalism, Eco-anarchism, and Anarcho-capitalism (cough, cough). Admittedly, the author is not fond of Anarcho-capitalism (A-C) but devotes the biggest chunk of the book to that variant. Many of the people she discusses did not even consider themselves anarchists (self-proclaimed or otherwise), such as Ayn Rand and Milton Friedman.

The section on Anarcho-syndicalism focuses on two figureheads: Sam Dolgoff ("The Last Anarchist") and Noam Chomsky ("Fellow Traveler"). The author also provides a rehash of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Rocker, Berkman, Puente, and Santillan to complete the all-male revue. Her questions about Emma Goldman provoke "an aggressive outburst" from Sam Dolgoff, who then gets in an argument with Esther, his wife (a background figure but apparently more progressive than her husband). Sam wasn't too keen on women's issues, youth, or anything else outside of his labor agenda, but since he was The Last Anarchist and died in '90, the rest of us can get on with the multi-faceted struggle.

Basically, this book is an incredible misrepresentation of anarchism in the US. Because the author focuses on a few easily-accessible personalities, the reader obtains no idea of what was happening in the streets at the same time. A better title would have been something like *The Views of a Few Anarchists or So-Called Anarchists who Really don't have much Influence on the Grassroots Anarchist Scene in the U.S.*

The only mention the author makes of the 1989 Anarchist Con-Fest in San Francisco is a lead-in about the views of a woman Anarcho-Capitalist, who the author admits was the only A-C type at the conference. Why didn't she interview a few of the hundreds of other Non A-C people who were there?

The author goes into major detail about A-C, discussing people, journals, groups, etc., but does nothing close to comparable for the "Left" side of her book, although there were tons of sources she could have used, especially anarchist periodicals such as *The Shadow, Bayou La Rose, Anarchy, Fifth Estate, Love and Rage, Profane Existence*, etc. It was the many interesting debates that were happening in periodicals like these that were shaping the anarchist scene at that time, not the academic musings of a few white men.

One fine example would have been the emergence of the newspaper *Love and Rage*. The author discusses and criticizes the Left Green Network, which I was a part of at the time, but makes no mention of the excellent criticism of LGN provided by *Love and Rage*, which was one of the things that got me interested in anarchism. In a book about anarchism, why would the author devote time to the Left Green Network, which wasn't as big as she seems to think, but not the anarchist network that was creating a stir within the scene?

In the epilogue, she states that "though the historical moment seems to be ripe for a leftist anarchist revival, one can hardly speak of a movement." Duh, if you're schmoozing with the "big-wigs" how are you ever going to see any notion of a movement?

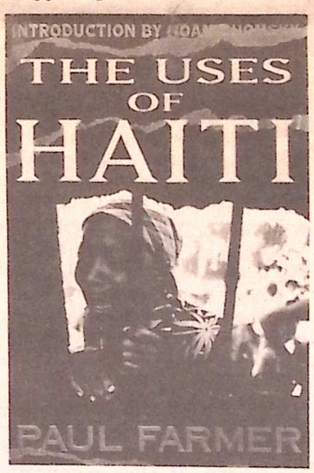
Finally, she ends with the wisdom that "Anarchism is still both a nightmare and accomplice of the ruling class." I would definitely put this book under the accomplice side of that statement.

—Britt

The Uses of Haiti
by Paul Farmer

(432 pages, $14.95, Common Courage Press, 1994)

Thanks to the most recent U.S. invasion, Haiti is back on the map and in the news. *The Uses of Haiti* is an important book not only because of the present crisis situation but precisely because Haiti has been in crisis ever since Columbus and his bonehead crew decimated the indigenous population on what was then called the island of Hispaniola. The time is long past due to devote serious attention to Haitian history, and Paul Farmer's book offers an intelligent and comprehensive historical analysis of how Haiti has been abused by colonial governments. In Part One, Farmer offers a historical account of Haiti from its initial colonization in 1492 through the coup of 1991. Part Two presents recent history through the experience of three Haitians.



One of the strengths of this book is that it fills in the gaps left by depictions of Haiti in pro-american books and media sources. Ever since Haiti was successful in undertaking armed struggle in 1791 against colonial powers it has been portrayed in a racist manner as the "ungovernable Black Republic." One of the most astute points Farmer makes about Haitian history is how the armed slave rebellion of 1791, which overthrew colonial power and made Haiti the first independent republic in all of Latin America, alarmed the slave owning U.S. southerners who were fearful of their own overthrow: "the birth of Haiti was a 'nightmare' for every country in which slavery endured...It was French—it is now African. This explains all."

Because of their interest in exploiting African labor, whites feared Black people gaining control of their own destiny. This book also pays critical attention to U.S. foreign policy in all of Latin America. Farmer delineates Yankee imperialism throughout history, concluding that missions

More Reviews

The Uses of Haiti

continued...

to "restore democracy" and give "humanitarian aid" are myths promoted to cloak U.S. business interests and hide the suppression of popular movements in Haiti.

The biggest thing missing from *The Uses of Haiti* is an in-depth discussion of strategy. Although I understand that the main intention of the book is to reinvigorate Haitian history with truth (which it does so well) the mere beginning of a strategic discussion at the end of the book is out of proportion with the extensive criticisms Farmer makes about the abusive policies of the U.S. capitalist state.

He suggests that for many citizens of the U.S., *"old fashioned penitence might be the first step towards a new solidarity, a pragmatic solidarity that could supplant both our* malignant policies of the past and the well-meaning but unfocused charity that does not respond to Haitian aspirations."

Of course charity is not justice, but neither is solidarity based on guilt. Such fragile motivations often lead to painful inaction based in fatalism. Rather, if we are to decide on an effective response to the crisis in Haiti we must draw connections between our knowledge of U.S. imperialism and our experiences of oppression within the borders of the U.S. We must understand not just that U.S. policy has no interest in Haitian democracy, but also that we too live in an anti-democratic society. A colonial mentality pervades domestic, as well as international, policies.

Any fight against involvement in Haiti or any other country is tied to struggle against colonial relationships within the U.S. Real social change comes out of clear strategies designed to bring down those rotten structures which are responsible for human misery. Yes, this does mean educating ourselves about Haiti, but it also requires a broader analysis of the anti-democracy that we live under in the U.S.

Lastly, *The Uses of Haiti* left me desiring information about the popular struggle in Haiti. A peasant movement called Mouvman Peyizan Papay is twice mentioned in reference to the rise of political repression at different times in recent Haitian history, but is not discussed in depth. Where are the other Haitian visions, outside of electoral politics, for reaching a more democratic society?

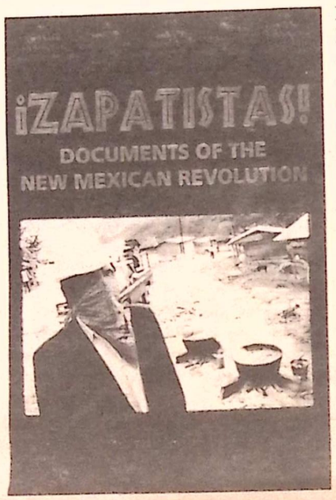
—Justine Abinni

¡ZAPATISTAS! Documents of the New Mexican Revolution (December 31, 1993— June 1994)

(350 pages, $12.00, Autonomedia, 1994)

As you read this, some 2000 miles to the south a group of lightly-armed revolutionaries are completely encircled by the armed forces of the Mexican state.

The revolutionaries, known as the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) or Zapatistas, represent something brand new on the world scene. Their revolt and brief seizure of six towns in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas on January 1st 1994 (the date that the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect) took the world by storm, exposing the New World Order for what it is: unjust and brutal, but also vulnerable.



Politically, the Zapatistas are a breath of fresh air. Their deep roots in the indigenous communities of Chiapas have embedded a strong democratic culture in their organization, and unlike other major guerrilla armies of the last decade, the Zapatistas are not fighting to win state power for themselves, nor do they conceive of themselves as the vanguard leadership. Instead the EZLN see themselves as one component in the struggle for a truly democratic society.

Mexico's unique political, social, and geographic relationship to the U.S. makes the struggle in Chiapas of utmost importance to North American radicals. If we let the Zapatistas go down in defeat, we are betraying a chance to build an international revolutionary movement that is actually fighting for freedom and not just more of the same. If we let them be crushed, we betray not only the people of southern Mexico, but our own revolutionary aspirations as well.

¡ZAPATISTAS! Documents of the new Mexican Revolution is the product of the hard work of a group of anti-authoritarian activists who don't want the Zapatistas to go down alone. This new book from Autonomedia is the most complete collection of EZLN communiqués, letters, and interviews yet published.

Subcommandante Marcos's opening essay, "The Southeast in Two Winds," gives the reader a strong sense of the strength and determination of the Zapatistas and the poverty and oppression from which they arose: "Not everyone hears the voices of hopelessness and conformity, not everyone is carried away by hopelessness. There are millions of people who continue on without hearing the voices of the powerful and the indifferent. They can't hear; they are deafened by the crying and blood that death and poverty are shouting in their ears. But when there is a moment of rest, they hear another voice. They don't hear the voice that comes from above; they hear the voice that is carried to them by the wind from below, a voice that is born in the Indigenous heart of the mountains. This voice speaks to them of freedom and justice..." Pure poetry.

What follow are dozens of documents, many in a similarly passionate prose, outlining the EZLN's demands, program, and ideas.

One of the more interesting pieces in the book is an interview with Marcos conducted by comrades from the Love and Rage Federation/Federacion de Amor y Rabia and Nightcrawlers Anarchist Black Cross. Marcos is asked for his thoughts on Marxism and Anarchism, and is pinned down on questions of sexuality, abortion, and feminism (the EZLN *are* pro-choice and open to struggling with homophobia).

In addition, *¡ZAPATISTAS!* is illustrated with two dozen of Jonathon Schwartz's amazing photographs of the people of Chiapas. The photos add a lot of energy and emotion to the book. Harry Cleaver, an autonomist teacher at the University of Texas, opens the book with an interesting and inspiring introduction.

This book has the potential to be an important tool in educating and inspiring North Americans to join the Zapatistas' struggle, to open a second front, and to make sure that the winds from below are heard here too.

— K-Dog

Bad Attitude

Issue 6, June/July/August 1994

121 Railton Rd./ London SE24 0LR/ UK/ 6 issue subs: £5(UK), £8(Europe), £10(everywhere else, including US)/ Subs on tape also available

Let me tell you—this is one rad paper. *Bad Attitude* is back as a quarterly after a sizable time lapse since the last issue, and I'm overjoyed to get the chance to rant and rave over my favorite women's paper ever.

Bad Attitude is out of London, yet has a broad international focus. It is unquestionably relevant for radicals everywhere. It has an impressive feminist, class-conscious, and anti-imperialist perspective. Along with book and music reviews and tons of news about women's struggles everywhere, this issue includes class war in the U.K.; talks in Northern Ireland; a report on the Zapatistas; interviews with author Maria Mies (*Ecofeminism*) and filmmaker Julie Dash (*Daughters of the Dust*); "unnatural disaster" in Somalia; and an interview with African Women in War (AFWAR). Articles like these illuminate women's presence in places where they are generally invisible in the media.

Bad Attitude's consistent commitment to disabled struggles is also notab'e: in this issue there is coverage of Disabled People's Direct Action Network's protest against British Rail, an article entitled "Lesbians and Disability," and another about an exhibition and book of photography by disabled people.

Please don't let my listing of all that heavy content lead you to conclude that this is yet another boring lefty rag. Not only is *Bad Attitude* radical, angry, and chock full of info, it's funny, even sarcastic and righteously snide at times. And here's the killer—it actually looks good! I always appreciate a lefty or feminist mag that has real style, as well as right-on politics.

Bad Attitude's dry sarcasm occasionally caught me off guard though; at least once I had to reread an article because I was confused over the great American/British humor divide and didn't get that the whole thing was a joke. Oh well.

I was especially amused by an account of an attack by the "old-fashioned feminist harridans" at *Bad Attitude* on last year's annual Revolutionary Communist Party conference, "The Perils of P.C." They greeted the tired leftists who had come to attend such workshops as "Feminism and Sexual Correctness: The New Puritanism" and "Should Men Mind their Manners" with a flyer reading, in part: "Now, despite our physiognomic deformities (that's ugly faces to you), moral reductionism, and chronic frigidity, we actually have more fun than you! Yes sir! That's because we *tell the truth! We call* a prick a prick. We call capitalism capitalism, and technocratic mind fuck... well, we call it just that. We are poor but honest. And we are going to hound you until you realize that: OUR LIVES ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN YOUR PRICKS."

Everyone should have an attitude this bad. Get yours now!

—Erin Immaculate

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BadAttitude
Plus bogey women units, the revolting underclass, disabled lesbians take no crap, shady deals with the IRA plus light my fire, - fuck YAT!

Black Fist #8

15110 Bellaire, Box 317/ Houston, TX 77083/ $1.50 sample, $9/6 issues (free to prisoners)

Questions of nationalism often come up when anarchists consider why the anarchist scene in North America is so gosh darn white. Or, to put it more honestly, problems of white privilege and racism are often buried under self-righteous criticisms of nationalism by the old-guard anarchist press. While anarchist papers like *Fifth Estate* and *Anarchy* howl that anarchy and nationalism are forever enemies, they avoid dealing with questions of white supremacy and white privilege that can only be addressed by seriously considering the issue of nationalism. They also don't realize that not all nationalisms are created equal (compare Black nationalism to Serbian nationalism, Mexican nationalism to American), and that some forms might not be contradictory to the creation of a truly free society.

Black Fist is one paper that is not afraid to examine the potentially revolutionary (and anarchist) implications of nationalism. In this issue, they examine it in two ways. First, they look at it theoretically in an excellent article by Prince Imari A. Obadele called "New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalist and Anarchist." In this piece, Prince Amari spells out New Afrikan revolutionary nationalism and explains how it is similar to anarchism. While the fit between the two isn't perfect, he makes a convincing argument that there is at least grounds for dialogue.

The second way nationalism is examined is through political action. In this issue is an article on The Goldfront Project, *a project initiated by revolutionary New Afrikan Nationalists* and the Black Fist Collective that will bring "at-risk" youth to prisons not only to encourage youth to stay out but also to discuss the impact of prisons on oppressed communities and the role prisons play in that oppression.

Through analysis and action, *Black Fist* confronts white supremacy and capitalism, in coalition with anarchist-leaning Black nationalists. Their methods are working; maybe other anarchists and radicals should consider them, too.

Nationalism and anarchism are by far not the only things *Black Fist* covers. Also in this issue is a good piece on Stonewall, a difficult but interesting piece on theft and capitalism, an analysis of the Mexican elections, news from Eastern Europe, prisoner news and updates, and more. Future issues promise to round out its coverage even more. Aimed at angry youth (its subtitle is "Street Knowledge for the Radical Massive"), *Black Fist* is an encouraging and inspirational read for anyone who is angry and doesn't mind having her

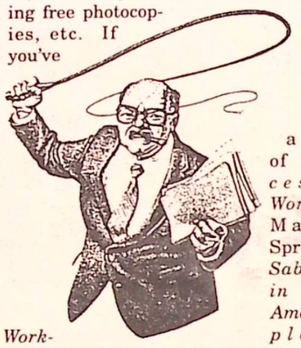
Temp Slave! Work! Work!

#1-3

c/o Keffo / PO Box 5184 / Bethlehem, PA 18015/ $2/issue

Have you ever read something that is radical, angry, right-on, and fucking hilarious at the same time? *Temp Slave* comes as close to God as you can get on this score. As the title suggests, this zine is by and about those in society caught between unemployment and a real job (25-30% of the American workforce today): temp workers.

This magazine combines radical labor politics (the editor seems to be a Wobblie sympathizer), tales of temp work woe, humor, and—everyone who's worked temp has a few—tales of resistance and revenge against the bosses and companies that treat temp workers like, well, slaves. There are stories in here of people killing their bosses, sabotaging machinery, stealing stuff, helping co-workers out at the expense of the boss, and just plain avoiding work: loafing, sleeping on the job, making free photocopies, etc. If you've ever seen a copy of *Processed World* or Martin Sprouse's *Sabotage in the American Workplace*, this zine is the temp workers' version: photocopied, cheap, and it has a terrible typeface but frankly, it doesn't give a fuck anyway.



Along with individual acts of sabotage and revenge, *Temp Slave* also looks at the prospects of collective resistance to capitalism. While the editor (Keffo) believes that organizing temp workers is extremely difficult (which is why he is partial to sabotage), he definitely recognizes the importance of militant organized resistance if temp workers are to ever become free human beings. The Wobblies' plan to organize temps ("Organizing a Temp Worker Agency", issue #2) sounds like it could be successful; hopefully *TS* will follow up on its good coverage of collective action-issues like this.

Even if you've never worked a temp job this zine will appeal to you. After all, we've all worked shitty jobs in our day, and any paper with headlines like "Bosses Are Evil Monsters," "Slacker the Packer," and "Why Bosses are Assholes" has to be great reading. Combine this humor with a solid political perspective and you have a zine that might not be worth getting a temp job for, but what is?

—joel

Black Autonomy

Volumn #1, Issue #1

c/o Greg Jackson/ 323 Broadway Ave. E. Box #914/ Seattle, WA 98102/ $1.50 single/ $10 sub (4 issues)

Black Autonomy's intent, in their own words, is to pick up where the Black Panther Party left off. They believe that by remaining open, flexible, militant, decentralized, creative, and intelligent they can unite and grow with other groups in what they call the Federation of Black Community Partisans. In response to the predominant whiteness of written Anarchist history, they strive to expand that history. The paper also attacks racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, and ageism from an anti-authoritarian stand point.

Black Autonomy, as the organ of the newly formed Federation of Black Community Partisans, is dedicated to building a truly anti-authoritarian movement. To this end the paper contains valuable critiques of tactics, power structures, and long-term goals of revolutionary and nationalist organizations. The primary focus is clearly to organize African-Americans and their communities, but at the same time they express interest in working with all people fighting state oppression.

Black Autonomy includes a section on world news of repression and resistance. It covers everything from a gay-bashing in Washington, to a young man who got a life sentence for defending himself against a racist in England, to the seizure of a hydroelectric dam in Surinam by twenty rebel guerrillas from the Surinam Liberation Front.

Black Autonomy promises to devote space in every issue to Anarchist actions and Black Anarchists in history. In this issue they give a summary of the French student-worker revolts in May of 1968, also providing suggestions of books to read for further information and analysis. They also devote space to the life of Kuwasi Balagoon, a Black Anarchist. The journal discusses his work with the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army, and his imprisonment. They also publish Balagoon's "Anarchy Can't Fight Alone," which encourages people to back up their thoughts and ideas with action.

Black Autonomy has very strong photos, including historical ones of Kathleen Cleaver and Fred Hampton, and new anti-Clinton graphics. Their drawings are creative and fit well with the themes of the issue. Overall, their political statement is very positive and informed. *Black Autonomy* has strong potential to be at the forefront as an Anarchist paper and an important contribution to the movement.

—Katrina

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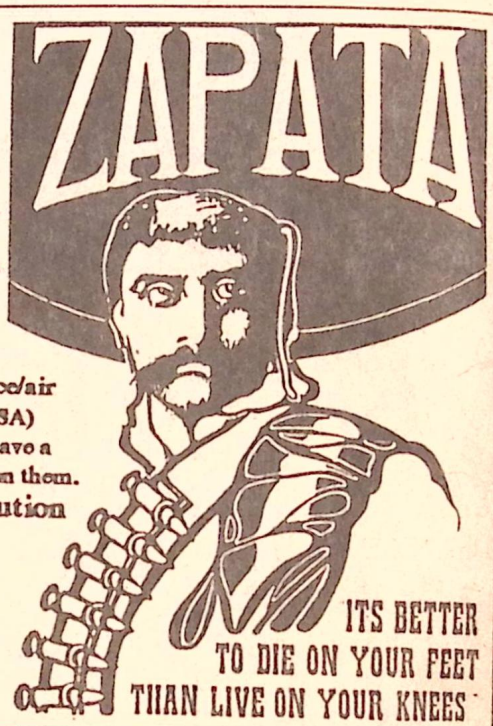

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primary issue I have is concerning the lack of any reference to the struggle for an independent Black nation which is a leading ideological position in the Black liberation movement, as well as reference to other national struggles - Native Americans, et al.). My codefendant and comrade Kuwasi Balagoon, a dedicated very ideological anarchist and New Afrikan, waged some struggle within the anarchist community in the early 80's before his death in prison from AIDS.

Please keep me on your mailing list. However, by the time your next issue comes out I will likely be transferred. My new address (by early June?) will be:

Marilyn Buck 00482-283
5701 8th St. Camp Parks
Dublin, CA 94568
Forward ever! Marilyn Buck

Dear collective,

Yes, of course I like *The Blast!* and wish you success in the difficult endeavor of publishing a free magazine: not easy.

I read with interest that Ron Taber (formerly on The Torch/Antorcha) has written a new book on Leninism, which I will try to get. I myself have cooked up my own ideas on Leninism and why it developed into the police-state that in reality was the ex-USSR.

I'll submit my "monthly reports" on the TDCJ-ID (Texas Department of Corrupt Judges and Institutional Dehabilitation) Hobby Unit in Marlin, C.S.A., Texas. Which cost me the "15" (days cell restriction). I am now doing (with 1 or 2 more coming). So please treat my "monthly reports" with care: they are written with blood.

Take care, In struggle,
New address:
Ana Lucia Gelabert #384484
Rte. 2, Box 600
Marlin, TX 76661

TELL NO LIES/CLAIM NO EASY VICTORIES! - The Late Amilcar Cabral

Tod - Be advised that your undated correspondence was received on February 17th with the political statement for Agitator Index/The Blast...

Tod - I recently had the opportunity to review the April/May *1994 premier issue of The Blast, and I noticed that Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin's objective critique (A Ball Of Confusion) that I (submitted) for publication was not published, and I'm perplexed as to why it wasn't published...*

Tod - I can't help from wondering out loud that Lorenzo's timely critique of those masquerading neo racists at Love and Rage "was" purposely not published because The Blast collective is a supporting group of Love and Rage.....

Tod - While I was reviewing The Blast, I also noticed that Love & Rage was being projected as being revolutionary on page 23 and on page 27, and I was appalled because nothing could be further from the truth...

Tod - Perhaps you can explain to me what Love and Rage has (done) that's revolutionary?

Tod - One on the concepts of anarchy is inclusion, and I'm wondering why Love and Rage don't want to include themselves with those oppressed people of color?? Tod, the late Kwame Nkrumah taught us to go to the people, live among them, learn from them, love them, serve them, plan with them, start with what they know, build (on) what they have !! Tod, If Love and Rage is so revolutionary, where are the patently marked anarchist food, clothing and medical distribution centers and outlets in the colonies of the downtrodden?

I THINK ABOUT THE WIDE GULF BETWEEN A PROGRESSIVE AND A REVOLUTIONARY... THE FORMER STILL HAS FEAR - THEY KNOW WHAT IS CORRECT BUT THEY STILL WANT A PIECE OF WHAT IS! - Bonnie Kerness on the differences between a progressive and a revolutionary!

Tod - In order to win the hearts and minds of the dispossessed over to the concepts and ideals of anarchy, such distribution centers and medical outlets are a dire necessity (anarchists must know how to lead by example) because the struggle is about material benefits, and people aren't going to commit themselves to a life as well as death struggle for some grand ideas someone might have floating around inside their heads because the consequences are to severe....

Tod - If Love and Rage is so revolutionary, where are the "armed" revolutionary anarchist offensive and defensive formations direly needed to wage war against the fascist state (and other adversaries of anarchy) and to protect the ideals and gains of the anarchist collectives and other federations...?

Tod - If Love and Rage is so revolutionary, where are the political prisoners and prisoners of war of Love and Rage in today's concentration camps?

Tod - If Love and Rage is so revolutionary, why isn't the fascist state that they claim to be in opposition to with a seething hatred playing them close - locking them up on trumped-up conspiracy allegations like they do real opponents of the fascist politics and genocidal scheme?

Tod - If Love and Rage is so revolutionary, why aren't agents of the draconian state kicking down their doors in the middle of the night armed to the teeth with pistols, shotguns and automatic assault rifles like they do real opponents of their reactionary politics?

TO BE ATTACKED BY THE ENEMY IS A GOOD THING, NOT A BAD THING! - The late Mao Tse-Tung

Tod - If Love and Rage is so revolutionary, why aren't agents of the despotic state assassinating its most influential members or shooting its membership down in the streets like they do serious opponents (E.G; Erstwhile Black Panther Party (BPP) and Black Liberation Army (BLA) members) of this hypocritical apostate regime?

Tod - If Love and Rage is so revolutionary, why don't they have a concise prison policy?

Tod - If Love and Rage was truly revolutionary as they are propagating to be, they wouldn't have to be perpetrating a charade about being an Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) as they are presently doing...

Tod - After all that's been said here, it would be appropriate if Love and Rage identified itself as a progressive anarchist Bimonthly because it's patently not revolutionary as they and "others" are projecting them to be now because they still want a piece of what is now...

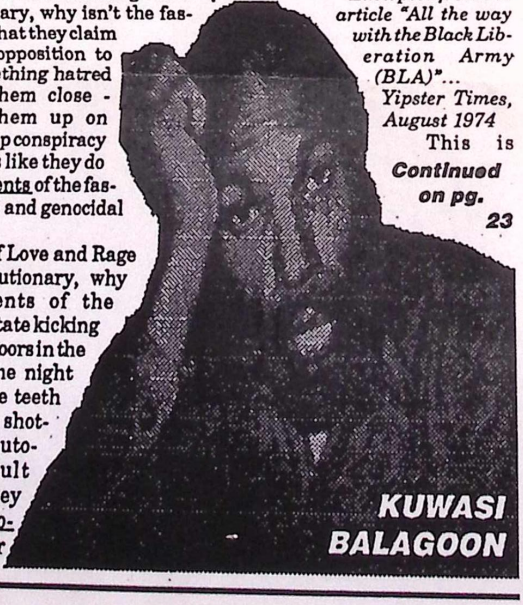
Earth Crisis,
All Of This Suffering,
Ojore N. Lutalo
CN-861-59860 M.C.U.
Trenton, NJ 08625
enclosures:
(1) Excerpts on segments of the white-left from Sundry Publications.

This growth of militancy (of the Black Liberation Army) stood in direct contrast with so many white radicals, who having made "their" decision to work for McGovern, or plant organic veggies, (or) "organize da workers" (seeing any kind of armed struggle as a threat to bring back the days of 1970 when white radicals had to worry about going in front of grand juries and other torturous "things"), refused to lift a finger as Brazilian-type police terror came down on the Black community, and the Black Liberation Army (BLA) in particular!

Excerpted from the article "All the way with the Black Liberation Army (BLA)"... Yipster Times, August 1974

This is

Continued on pg. 23



KUWASI BALAGOON

THE BLAST!

AUG/SEPT 1994 • NUMBER THREE • $2 BY MAIL • $1 ELSEWHERE

Dear Friends and Comrades,

Ojore N. Lutalo argues in his letter to *The Blast!* that Love and Rage is not revolutionary because (among other reasons) we have not created armed formations, because we have not been imprisoned, and because we have not been assassinated. I hope the absurdity of these sorts of arguments is clear to all. To be attacked by the enemy may be a good thing, but to be killed and captured is most certainly not a good thing and neither is inviting attacks when those are the only results one can reasonably expect. I believe that creating armed formations of the type that Ojore suggest now is to simply expose ourselves to repression that we are not equipped to effectively resist.

We are in a period when the revolutionary movement is very weak. Our organizations are small and the activity of the masses is at a very low level. I am optimistic that this will change soon, but I believe that the first responsibility of a revolutionary is to make an honest assessment of the possibilities for action that exist under a given set of circumstances. I believe that at this time it is crucial that anti-authoritarian activists who are coming to revolutionary conclusions about the nature of this society and what it will take to bring it down need to be able to discuss openly and frankly a wide variety of political questions. I think that this purpose is best served by a relatively loose formation like Love and Rage. The price of that commitment to struggle and discussion is that less developed and non-revolutionary ideas sometimes get publicly expressed in the course of the discussions. Ojore seems to think that all the big questions about what it takes to make a revolution have been answered and that all that is lacking is the courage to do what must clearly be done. A consequence of this position is a tendency to attempt to bait people into action by accusing them of not being sufficiently revolutionary. Frankly I think this approach is very destructive. It creates an atmosphere in which honest disagreement becomes impossible and in which all differences become a basis for attack. It also entails the very real danger that people will feel compelled to take actions that are ill-considered in order to prove to themselves that they really are revolutionaries. We already have enough comrades behind bars, there is nothing revolutionary about increasing the work load of already overworked prisoner solidarity activists.

I don't believe that Love and Rage has come to any sort of consensus about revolutionary strategy. We are still a new formation and a part of a new tendency and many questions remain unanswered. Ojore argues that we should both take up arms and attempt to establish distribution centers and medical outlets in oppressed communities. I believe that to do the first at this moment would be suicidal and I feel that for a largely white group like Love and Rage to do the second carries very real dangers of setting up a colonialist/social worker relationship with those oppressed communities (it would be another story if the initiative for such work was coming from organizations based in those communities). There are people in Love and Rage who probably disagree in varying degrees with either or both of these assessments. I think that at this time that diversity of opinion is crucial to building a serious revolutionary movement. No doubt there are many people in Love and Rage who still cling in different ways to what is and that tendency must be struggled with. Many people who strongly desire revolution still doubt whether it is actually possible. This defeatism must also be fought. But we are not so strong that we can afford to chase away everybody who is not yet ready to die for a new world that seems to exist only in the minds of a tiny minority of humanity.

What is revolutionary in one period may not be in another. The decision to take up the armed struggle is revolutionary in certain circumstances, and counter-revolutionary in others. The commitment to extensive open discussion of certain questions is revolutionary under certain circumstances, but can become counter-revolutionary when it impedes taking necessary action. What is it about the current situation that makes Ojore so sure that the strategy he advocates will be more successful now (when the movement is very weak) than it was in the 70's (when the movement was comparatively strong)?

Revolutionary Solidarity,
Christopher Day

LETTERS

LOVE AND RAGE HAS TO GET OUT OF THE ARM-CHAIR, AND WORK WITH THE PEOPLE

Greetings,

Actually, i have, time and again, intended to write to *The Blast*, but on the occasion of Chris Day's letter in number 3, i am now dropping a line. Before i address anything, though, i wanted to take care of some business.

i have been pretty impressed by *The Blast* on several occasions. It is a fairly well-thought-out paper and i gotta say that i like it better than most of the shit that passes as a 'movement' publication because it isn't stuck out on a cloud with no basis in reality. You have my regards. By the way, i work with yet another publication, *Black Fist*, and wanted to say thanks for the props we got from a reviewer in number 2. One problem though — *Black Fist* is based in Houston, not Austin. Still, it is the thought that counts, so thanks.

Those things said, from here on out, any thoughts are mine only and shouldn't be considered the thinking of the collective or *Black Fist*. Oh, and before I go any further, i have never found myself to be necessarily anti-L and R. This is just how I see this debate unfolding.

Chris Day's response in *Blast!* #3 to Ojore Lutalo's letter in *Blast!* #2 raised a number of issues to me, and i felt compelled to address them. Don't think i'm some savior to Ojore Lutalo, of course, because he's more than capable of defending himself. i just had a lot of problems with Day's critique, which, for me, showed the problems the so-called anarchist movement has, that there truly is a sizable gulf between the progressive and the revolutionary — much of which is determined by race and class, and why so many have ditched Love and Rage's confused and (if I read Day correctly) slightly paranoid politics.

For as harsh as Ojore Lutalo's criticism as L and R was, like it or not, he has a point. What defines a revolutionary? Having some long-winded manifesto or working paper or even having a gun and some fuzzy politics doesn't make you revolutionary. Lutalo, in his piece, outlines a few facets of what activities have historically defined a revolutionary group, including people's centers, armed formations and the like. In his opening, Day chooses to sensationalize Lutalo's critique, reducing it to a caricature of armed struggle as a way to label his thought "absurd." The ridiculousness of Day's technique should be apparent; issue after issue of Love and Rage's paper is full of stories glamorizing the real struggles of colonized people waging war against oppressors, and said organization is willing to write reams about them to boost itself on the radical chic meter, but sure as hell won't offer material aid, such as arms. However, as long as the colored folks are the cannonfodder for L and R's class war fantasies (i.e. "I believe that creating armed formations ... now is to simply expose OURSELVES (emphasis added) to repression") it seems no big deal.

Day's assessment that the revolutionary potential of the (white, middle class) community begs the question. What is L and R doing to solidify and advance revolutionary potential? Thus far, it seems like the work is confined to Day taking apart Lutalo, a New Afrikan revolutionary and political prisoner, because he has the honesty to point out that L and R does not have in place the facets that historically defined revolutionary groups. Is Lutalo baiting people because he makes this observation? No, but Day's defensiveness comes very close to branding Lutalo an agent provocateur. It is this kind of labelling of our soldiers, who've dedicated their lives to the struggle, that is the real danger (and shame), not critiquing organizational orientation. i also question Day's assumption that his members (and I say 'his members' with purpose) will engage in "actions that are ill-considered" to prove themselves to anyone. L and R itself can't even decide what it's own internal polics are, much less how to implement a program to bring overthrow closer.

Day, in criticizing Lutalo, is also reductionist in implicitly claiming that there are a myriad of questions that Love and Rage has yet to define (i.e. "Ojore seems to think that all the big questions about what it takes to make a revolution have been answered ... "). In fact, the struggle of Black/New Afrikan revolutionary nationalists, indigenous fighters and history itself gives us a blueprint for ways to go. Anarchists, often being intellectually lazy when it comes to history, are thus apt to say that there are still so many questions to figure out, as if the battles fought by people of color and radicals here and abroad never happened.

We are ideologically further than many think, and when the anarchist movement abandons its white, middle class orientation, it will take another leap. The failure of Day and indeed many others to see the revolutionary potential today because it is very much a function of race and class; white, middle class people don't see it because their community has the most to maintain in defending the cyst'm. Sections of the Black and Chicano poor and lumpen are but one example of those with nothing to lose, but anarchism is as irrelevant to their/mine/Our experience as the tired left rhetoric. Here is where the anarchist imperative lies.

i am disturbed by Day's assertion that working among the colonized nations within amerika to create food and medical distribution centers is "social work" and, implicitly, not L and R's thing. The greatest crime of the anarchist movement and that of the rest of the sorry white leftist lot as a whole is to moralize while people suffer. Might I suggest that Day carefully re-read Ojore Lutalo's piece and find the quote by Kwame Nkrumah: "go to the people, live among them, learn from them, love them, serve them, plan with them, start with what they know, build (on) what they have."

The problem with most anarchists as a whole and, in my estimation, the "revolutionary" L and R (at this point) in particular is an unwillingness to do this work among the people — especially poor and working-class Black/New Afrikan and Chicano people, young and old. Far too often (often enough that I accept it as a general rule), I see white anarchists who are content hanging out to their alternative scenes, drinking a 40 at some fucked-up 'gathering' and talking out of their assholes rather than going among the colonized people, talking (and testing) ideas (relating with them as opposed to talking AT them and passing out dumb fliers) and proving them through self-discipline and commitment that anarchism is a theory that has results rather than a bullshit philosophy for armchair activists and closet racists.

Ojore Lutalo's idea for centers is hardly new, as everyone from the Black Panthers to different cadres within the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika has sought to create survival centers that help people as well as show them that the principles upon which such projects are founded can produce results. The key point here is that such projects be undertaken WITH the people. But to do that means anarchists must live AMONG the people, which, in turn means leaving the safe confines of one's white, middle-class alternative scene and doing something worthwhile. At this point, perhaps Day might refer to Lutalo's quote from Bonnie Kerness: "I think about the wide gulf between the progressive and the revolutionary ... The former still has fear. They know what is correct but still want a piece of what is!"

As a final note in this overlong response (to which i half-expect a rationalization of why L and R is nice to follow), my last point is only on debate and the paternalist treatment of colonized people. Why is Jesse Jackson referred to as "Jesse" but Bill Clinton is "Mr. Clinton"? Why is Michael Jordan "Mike" but Larry Bird "Bird"? Or "Amos and Andy" (first names, Black) but "Laurel and Hardy" (surnames, European)? It is too readily accepted that an individual can respond "Ojore"-this and "Ojore"-that when it is apparent that it is a debate rather than a simple chat between friends. That condescending bullshit like this isn't called out doesn't surprise me, though.

Still, I like *The Blast!* and look forward to each issue. Thanks for your time, space and patience. Take care.

Freedom got an AK,

Frank, of, but not for Black Fist / 15110 Bellaire, Box 317 / Houston, Texas 77083

without which our movement would be reduced to a state of trepidation. The ecstatic tendencies expressed by our young sisters and brothers in all probability will only expose a vulnerability to our enemies at an agonizing cost to our integrity. So we must anticipate the direction in which our enemies may seek to infiltrate our nucleus and respond by assessing the viewpoint to the credibility of the area in question. After we've computed the data of our reflection into a conceivable strategy, then and only then can we truly unite and fight as one!

May the peace of Allah's righteousness continue to be our strength and continue to bless you beautiful sisters and brothers of *Blast!* staff! Katrina, we thank Allah for you coming at a young age to fight along with us. You have the respect of the Crip Nation and the respect of the largest Crip gang in the world, the almighty Rollin' Sixty Crip Gang, the descendants of the Black Panthers. We love you!

Blessings to you, my prayers are forever for the struggle. I leave as I came, in true love and respect.

OG Crip James Wesley Griffin (W.S.R.60.C.G.) / #627487 / 12002 F.M. 350 South / Livingston, TX 77351

FOR REVOLUTION, BUT AGAINST IMAGEMAKERS

Dear *Blast!*,

I wish to add a few words to the discussion going on in your paper over the comments of Ojore Lutalo and others [*see* Blast! *#2-4 —ed.*]. This debate clearly shows the divisions that have existed within anarchism for a long time. To me, it comes down to revolutionary image vs. revolutionary reality. The image of the revolutionary is that of the barricades, of some macho "militant" with a gun or bomb, beating his chest like Tarzan, screaming out radical slogans. Revolutionary reality, on the other hand, is something very different. The anarchist imagemakers will debate which image is the most revolutionary while others are involved in what is truly revolutionary.

Though the debate is not debated in this manner, it all comes down to image vs. substance. Where revolutionary image-making fails is that people don't follow or join in very great numbers [because of] images. Revolution is born within the issues of the oppressed in their communities and workplaces. The imagemakers stand on the outside, calling upon the people to join behind them. The realists go into the communities and workplaces and organize around the day-to-day struggles of the people. They deal with their needs, they build solidarity for the victims, they build a resistance against the oppressors, and in this process they are building the revolutionary direction.

The anarchist revolution *must* come from the communities and workplaces, for anarchism cannot come to the people from the outside. It cannot be forced upon the people; it must be organized within them.

Too many modern anarchists seek to bypass the community and workplaces and go directly to what they think the revolution (the image) is: just a war with the state where all we must do is beat the cops and the army in some great battle and then march up the steps of the capitol and declare the death of the state and long live anarchy! Let's say for a moment that such a thing could happen; it would turn out to be nothing more than a coup d'etat, for the true anarchist social revolution takes place in the communities and workplaces, where the people organize their needs outside capitalism and the state.

What makes Kuwasi Balagoon and others like him different from the imagemakers is that they organized within their community and when the oppressors attacked they picked up a gun in defense of the revolution. Many of the statements of truth that these folks are talking about can also be found throughout radical history: the Zapatistas, the CNT-AIT-FAI, the Makhnovists, and the IWW were all based in communities and workplaces. The Panthers did not just pick up a gun and start fighting the cops, they also did work within their community, like the breakfast programs. AIM [American Indian Movement] was not just Wounded Knee, it was also Survival Schools.

What some are calling "community service" is, in reality, part of the revolutionary process. We anarchists are not out to do charity work for the people because our hearts are bleeding. Rather, we are trying to organize the needs of the people into the hands of the people. In other words, we are not out to pass out a few more crumbs from the pie, we are after the whole pie and while we are at it, we will seize the whole damn pie shop!

It is true that revolutionary struggle often leads to what some may view as just "reform." The revolutionary process is, in part, the act of forcing concessions from our enemies. If we anarchists stick with these projects (many anarchists are weak-willed and cannot last very long at anything) to guard them from being corrupted and to use them as a base for community organizing, then they will not be a waste of time.

Like it or not, all true social revolutionaries can also be called reformists. Were we to tell African Americans back in the time of slavery that they must wait until the revolution? Are we to tell Leonard Peltier that he must sit in Leavenworth until we proclaim him free when we have slain the beast? Should we tell Mumia Abu-Jamal that he must meet the executioner because we are still trying to learn how to build a barricade? Are we to tell the hungry to fast because to feed them before the revolution would be reformist? These things are not reformist, for our enemies cannot concede all the demands of the oppressed without conceding their oppressive social system.

Thus, the revolution takes place in the communities and workplaces, as we organize the needs of the people and make governing by the oppressors impossible. In defense of this revolution we take whatever direct action is necessary. Every act of defiance, every concession gained, every need fulfilled is a revolutionary act.

Unfortunately, most modern anarchists organize nothing. They isolate themselves in little groups and stay within the safety of the "purity" of their dogma, but we live in an impure world of hunger, racism, wage slavery and so on. The hungry need bread now, no pie-in-the-sky in the glorious days that will come. You cannot eat dogma, nor will it stop a policeman's club. Even those anarchists who do see a need in some type of organization still isolate themselves in rigid dogma.

Even Love and Rage, which seems to be one of the few groups trying to organize something anarchist, burdens itself with rigid dogma. Thus it is not able to do the outreach needed to unite revolutionary anarchists. Even though I have been an active revolutionary anarchist longer than some in Love and Rage have been alive, when I tried to join the federation I was rejected for membership.

As for the question, "Are Love and Rage, Workers Solidarity Alliance, and other such groups racist?", the answer is yes and no. They and the anarchist movement do not set out to be racist. Many have tried to work with this issue. A lot of good progress has been made. From that alone, no, they are not racists. But there is much more to overcoming racism than just good intentions. *All* of today's political ideologies that base their origins in Europe are inherently racist because they are based on European perspectives. That includes Marxists, New Leftists, radical New Agers, Greens, nationalists, and anarchists, too. Anarchism may be able to break from this tradition of racism by opening itself up to the views of non-European people.

My views on the struggle and on anarchism have made me a bit of an outcast within the movement. Thus, I can understand the frustration of people like Ojore Lutalo, Kuwasi Balagoon, and Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin. It is not that these people and others like them are right on every issue; no anarchist is (including myself). The problem is getting the discussion going that will turn revolutionary image into revolutionary substance.

The fact of the matter is that if we are true revolutionaries we must go out and organize. We must build organizations within the communities and workplaces. If we are doing prisoner support work we must organize strong support (this the ABC Network has not even begun to think about). As revolutionary anarchists we must build a federation that can grow and that does not exclude. This Love and Rage has not done.

If we call for workplace organizing then we need to be out there where real workers are and organize them. This the WSA and the modern IWW are not doing. Even the IWW, an organization that should know better, has all but abandoned its revolutionary tactics of industrial organizing and replaced it with the idea of organizing one isolated shop at a time, which accounts for the modern IWW's organizing failures.

We must be willing to do the hard work of revolutionary organizing and get away from "feel good" organizing, isolation and intellectual masturbation. But on the other side of things, who am I to say these things? I am but an outcast, uncool, not with it, and I have bad "karma," thus it is easy to disregard my words.

For the revolution,

Arthur J. Miller, *Bayou La Rose* / PO Box 5464 / Tacoma, WA 98415

PSYCHOTROPIC DRUGS AND NATIONALISM

Dear *Blast!* editors:

...Well, I am a prisoner of the state of Michigan, although I am not suffering much more than you as I am not in any of the control unit prisons or even a high level.

...I read about the control unit at Baraga [*see Blast!* #3—ed.] and wonder if you were aware of the ones at I-Max and Marquette Facilities? Further, Michigan Department of C
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a) aim one of these at a police station.
b) find another 100,000 people who agree with you and storm city hall and corporate headquarters.
c) subscribe to *The Blast!*
d) all of the above.
Answer: d.

The Blast! Six issues. Nine bucks. One cop shop blown all to pieces.

PO Box 7075 Minneapolis,

Please add an extra $2 to help pay for a free sub for a prisoner, PWA